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The Washington Historical Quarterly

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VOL. II No. 1 OCTOBER, 1907

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Vol. II No. 1 *October, 1907*

The
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SARAH LORETTA DENNY—A TRIBUTE.

In the death of Sarah Loretta Denny, Seattle has suffered a loss. The helping hand of the needy and troubled is forever stilled. But her work was well done, her rest well earned, and she went to the great Master, leaving the world the better for her having lived.

Miss Denny came from good old southern stock, both her father and mother being southerners, her father coming from Kentucky and her mother from Tennessee. In the year 1835 her parents settled in Knox County, Illinois, and there, near the little town of Abbington, on February 14th, 1851, she was born. It was just at a time when the fever to "move westward" swept the land, and when but a tiny baby the home was broken up, and on the 10th of April the long, tedious march across the plains to Oregon began—a march full of dangers and hardships; then, for five weary months, a prairie schooner was her home.

The family settled first on a farm near Salem, Oregon. Here they lived until Miss Denny was eight years old, when her parents again moved, this time to Seattle, where they remained, and where she made her home until her death. Here she attended the public schools and the Territorial University. For several years after obtaining her education she taught school in Seattle and on Whidby Island.

As a child her great love of nature was noticeable; flowers and pets, rather than little playmates, were her companions, and especially fond was she of all feathered creatures. No doubt this natural love of nature was developed by the grandeur of the scenery with which her life was surrounded.

Early in life she entered the church, being a charter member of Plymouth Congregational Church of Seattle. As a church

worker she was earnest, conscientious and untiring. She was an active member to within a few months of her death, when her health, much to her sorrow, compelled her to give up her work.

Her father died in 1875. She and her mother continued to live in the old home, on the corner of Third and Union, where the Federal building is now being erected. Upon her mother's death, in 1888, she made her home with her brother, Arthur A. Denny, and his family, until her death on July 25th, 1907.

The keynote of her character was to do good in secret. The main study in life, her one life thought, was to do the most good possible with what she had, whether much or little, and to do it quietly. Her unassuming nature shrank from publicity, and many a family in the time of stress and worry has been helped, but by an unseen hand; and how many times flowers and fruit were sent to the sick, food and clothing to the needy, without the name of the sender. It was not for glory or praise or thanks that she gave, but for the love of suffering humanity, the love of giving—and the thought that as she went her way she might do what she could to lessen the world's suffering. She was always ready with a smile and a word of encouragement, and was never too busy to listen to any story of real trouble, and then to help in her own quiet way.

Miss Denny possessed a strong character, a fine intellect and keen wit. She never swerved from the path of right and duty; there were no two paths for her—just the one. She was a deep thinker and a great reader, and was remarkably well informed, having time to read only the best, for time was too short and life too full to waste any precious moments on the mediocre. Her quiet sense of humor and fun, and her bright smile and witty sayings, will long be remembered by those who loved her.

"The good is oft interred with their bones" is not so with Miss Denny, for when the memory of her goodness, and the warmth of her many kindnesses have passed on with those who have known her, the good that she planned will live on and grow. Generations to come will reap the benefits of her thoughtfulness and charitableness as found in her last will and testament. In death as well as life her thought was of the suffering, the poor and needy, and her beloved church.

Her will is conceded by all to be one of the very best yet executed in the State of Washington. She remembered all her relatives with gifts of various values, and then divided the bulk

of her fortune, estimated at more than $300,000, among the most worthy charities and public institutions. Among the bequests are the following:

The Congregational Home Missionary Society of New York	$10,000
Women's Relief Society of Seattle	10,000
Congregational Home Missionary Society of the State of Washington	5,000
The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	5,000
The Women's Board of Missions for the Pacific	5,000
Young Women's Christian Association of Seattle	5,000
Seattle Seamen's Friend Society	4,000
Salvation Army, for work in Seattle	2,000
Crittenton Home	2,000
Young Men's Christian Association of Seattle	1,000
Thomas and Jessie Kenney Home for Old People	20,000
Pioneer Association of the State of Washington	20,000
University of Washington, for the establishment of fellowships	25,000
Toward founding a Pulmonary Hospital in Seattle	10,000
Toward a fund to aid Seattle firemen injured during the discharge of their duty	5,000
Seattle General Hospital	10,000
Plymouth Congregational Church	5,000

The people of Seattle are well aware that every one of those bequests has been most worthily bestowed. They reveal a fine sense of appreciation on the part of the quiet, unassuming philanthropist.

DANIEL WEBSTER AND OLD OREGON.

The lamented John Hay, Secretary of State under President McKinley, and also under President Roosevelt, and recognized as one of America's most brilliant diplomats, not long before his death awakened comment and interest by saying that the success of American diplomacy had been due to its directness. Mr. Albert Gallatin, of equal fame, perhaps, with Mr. Hay, but of an earlier period of our history, describing English diplomacy said, in a letter to his son: "Some of the Frenchmen say what is not true; here (in London) they conceal the truth." It would be of interest to note the application of these contrasts to the negotiations with England over the Oregon boundary, and particularly to the part taken by Daniel Webster therein; but first we may pertinently direct attention to the fallacy of the popular belief that Mr. Webster was indifferent, and even hostile, to American interests in the Pacific Northwest, and emphasized his real attitude during the years 1842-6 when his influence counted for so much in the settlement of that dispute.

Webster's Real View.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who ranks high as an historical authority, says: "In regard to the Northwestern boundary, Mr. Webster agreed with the opinion of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, that the 49th parallel was a fair and proper line." (American Statesmen Series, Vol. 21, pp. 257-8.) In support of this conclusion, Mr. Lodge would quote from Mr. Webster's speech in the Senate on March 30th, 1846:

"If, on the general notion of contiguity or continuity, this line be continued 'indefinitely west,' or is allowed to run to the 'northwestern ocean,' then it leaves on our side the valley of the Columbia, to which, in my judgment, our title is maintainable on the ground of Gray's discovery. The government of the United States has never offered any line south of forty-nine (with the navigation of the Columbia), and it never will. It behooves all concerned to regard this as a settled point. With respect to the navigation of the Columbia, permanently or for a term of years, that is all a matter for just, reasonable, and friendly negotiation. But the forty-ninth parallel must be regarded as the general line of boundary, and not be departed from for any line farther south." (Nat. Edit., Vol. 9, p. 73.)

He would also quote from a speech in Boston on November 7th, 1845, as follows:

"It is well known that the forty-ninth degree of north latitude is the boundary line between the western part of this country and the British provinces, as far as the foot of the Rocky Mountains. It seems to be natural enough, if the two governments contemplate a change, that they should agree to an extension of this same line westward; that the two should keep on abreast, side by side, with the same line of division till they reach the Pacific Ocean. It is well known that about where the Columbia River crosses the forty-ninth parallel it makes a turn and flows nearly southward. Very well. Suppose it made as sudden a sweep to the northward. England would then naturally say, this river, which has been making westward, sweeps to the northward; instead of making with it a great bend to the north, we will leave it and go on straight to the Pacific Ocean on this parallel of forty-nine degrees. For the same reason, it is not unnatural for the United States to say, since it proves that the river makes a circuit to the south, instead of following that circuit we will go straight upon the forty-ninth parallel till we meet the shore of the Pacific Ocean.

"This very proposition has been made to the British Government three successive times. It was made in '19, in '24, in '26—again and again to follow up the forty-ninth parallel westward from the Lake of the Woods, not only to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, but over the mountains and onward to the ocean." (Nat. Edit., Vol. 13, p. 314 et seq.)

And he would refer to Mr. Webster's declarations in January and February, 1843, through Senator Choate. (See Wash. Hist. Quar., July, 1907, p. 213.)

It must not be understood from this that Mr. Webster was an enthusiastic supporter of Western or Pacific Coast interests, or that he was a strong believer in expansion, though it is by no means proper to say that "the contrary rather is true." He was a New Englander and represented particularly the wealthy business interests of the East; and on that account he deprecated war and rumors of war that would disturb business relations. He was proud of New England against any other section of the country, and his private opinion of the Oregon country was by no means high. But as a statesman considering American rights and claims, he was consistently firm and was active in maintaining the American title to Oregon and anxious to acquire California. It has suited the controversialist to select a fragment of a letter or speech and lead up to an opinion from that, when an examination of the whole speech, or of others in connection with it, leads to a different conclusion; and in this manner the popular idea has become biased.

That Prairie Dog Speech.

The speech most often attributed to Mr. Webster, and quoted with sardonic emphasis, is what is termed the "Prairie Dog" speech, beginning as follows:

"What do we want with the vast, worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs?"

But students of our history have been for years credulous as to the author of this diatribe, and are coming to regard it as merely another of the vagaries of Rev. H. H. Spaulding and W. H. Gray. It was not Mr. Webster who said it, for his published works and the records of Congress have been carefully searched without success; and it does not ring true. Those who have used it, or continue to use it, are open to criticism as to their care or their scholarship, or the motive for doing so.

The River St. Johns vs. the Columbia.

Passing from what Mr. Webster did not to what he did say, we will examine his statements in the Senate in April, 1846, in which he contrasts the St. Johns River with the Columbia. Now, this seems, in the light of our present knowledge and pride, a foolish contrast, and at the present day he would not repeat it. But when we examine the speech itself we find that it was not one derogatory of Oregon, but a defense of the Ashburton treaty and laudatory of the St. Johns River as a valuable asset of that treaty; and the comparison is not with the Columbia alone, but with other well-known rivers. We quote:

"But Maine, I admit, did not look and ought not to have looked to the treaty as a mere pecuniary bargain. She looked at other things than money. She took into consideration that she was to enjoy the free navigation of the St. Johns River. I thought this a great object at the time the treaty was made; but I had then no adequate conception of its real importance. Circumstances which have since taken place show that its advantages to the State are far greater than I then supposed. That river is to be free to the citizens of Maine for the transportation down its stream of all unmanufactured articles whatever. Now, what is this river St. Johns? We have heard a vast deal lately of the immense value and importance of the Columbia River and its navigation; but I will undertake to say that for all purposes of human use the St. Johns is worth a hundred times as much as the Columbia is, or ever will be. In point of magnitude it is one of the most respectable rivers on the Eastern side of this part of America. It is longer than the Hudson and as large as the Dela-

ware. And moreover, it is a river which has a mouth to it, and that, in the opinion of the member from Arkansas, is a thing of some importance in the matter of rivers." (Webster's Works, Vol. 5, pp. 102-3.)

Even the last ten years have not been without exaggerated allusions to the Columbia River and its commerce, and hearing a part of this speech read without knowing the author, one might easily suppose he was merely listening to some newspaper editorial laudatory of the Puget Sound waters as against the Columbia.

Not an Agricultural Country.

The only part of Old Oregon that Great Britain seriously laid claim to after the year 1818 was that lying north and west of the Columbia River. Another quotation used to show Mr. Webster's ignorance and indifference is a sentence taken from his letter to Mr. Everett (in London), on November 28th, 1842: "I doubt exceedingly whether it (Oregon) is an inviting country for agricultural settlers." At that date the doubt was not an unreasonable one, especially for Mr. Webster, who was considerable of an agriculturalist himself and had his own ideas upon the subject. At that particular time the Oregon question was seriously before him, and he had at hand the reports of the government expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes, whose exploring parties from Puget Sound to the interior traversed for the most part dense forest and trackless plain. Agriculture was then not very prevalent north and west of the Columbia (or in any part of Old Oregon); in fact, a considerable portion of that region has not yet been turned over by the plow, being too mountainous. Even in 1885 the government statistics stated that only one-tenth of the land in the whole State of Washington was good for agriculture. In the seventies people were laughed at for buying what are now the most fertile grain fields in the Walla Walla valley, and without irrigation (not thought of in 1842) the Yakima and Wenatchee lands would still be selling for a song. The Red River emigration in 1841 to settle the Puget Sound country had proven a failure, and the whole Oregon country, in the same latitude as Montreal and Quebec, might well have presented doubts to the mind of Mr. Webster as to its agricultural possibilities in 1842.

Navigation of the Columbia.

Mr. Webster has also been criticised because of his willingness to negotiate regarding the navigation of the Columbia

River, and one writer has said: "Think of our being in a war with England and she by treaty having the use of the Columbia River permanently!" From the quotation already made, it is easy to get an idea of what might have been conceded to England had it been necessary to do so, namely, the same rights the Americans enjoyed on the river St. Johns. The Columbia River might have been open to England for the transportation of raw material and the passage of boats to and from her own territory, that is, British Columbia; a privilege that would have been of actually no service up to the present time. But think of Mr. Webster advocating a clause in a treaty with England under which she would have the right to bring her warships into the Columbia River while at war with the United States!

Oregon and California.

The original Spaulding-Gray tale was that Mr. Webster was keen to trade off Oregon for a cod fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland; but when that was found to have been a false alarm the terms of the trade were changed by later writers to make it appear that California was the territorial desiderata. This refers to what is called the tripartite plan of President Tyler ("a dream of policy never embodied" he himself afterward described it), and its consideration belongs properly to a discussion to be entitled President Tyler and Oregon. Mr. Webster did not summarily reject this as impossible, but gave it little serious attention, as shown by his own letters. What we know about it from the diary of John Quincy Adams, entries on March 18-21-25-27 and April 1, 1843, serves to illustrate Mr. Adams' rancorous opinion of Mr. Webster at that time, rather than to give any accurate informaton about the plans of the administration. Mr. Webster was preparing to leave the cabinet, and his recommendations regarding Oregon and other disputed points with England were already made (see his letter to Mr. Everett, dated March 20th, 1843). Mr. Adams pressed him for information and received—to use an expression popular just now—a lemon, and a squeezed one at that, as far as Mr. Webster was concerned.

In Conclusion.

Curiously enough, the horizon of Mr. Webster's view of the future greatness of the United States did not include the Pacific Coast, favorable as he was to asserting American claims to it. He shared the careless views of other public men of those days, even of Thomas H. Benton, as to a future Pacific Republic. Wit-

ness a part of his famous speech in behalf of Oregon in Fanuiel Hall, November 7th, 1845:

"I am the more confident of this when I look a little forward and see the state of things which is not far in advance. Where is Oregon? On the shores of the Pacific, three thousand miles from us and twice as far from England. Who is to settle it? Americans, mainly; some settlers undoubtedly from England; but all Anglo-Saxons; all men educated in nations of independent government and all self-dependent. And now let me ask if there be any sensible man in the whole United States who will say for a moment that when fifty or a hundred thousand persons of this description shall find themselves on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, that they will long content to be under the rule of either the American Congress or the British Parliament? They will raise a standard for themselves, and they ought to do it. I look forward to the period when they will do this as not so far distant but that many now present, and those not the youngest among us, will see a great Pacific republican nation. I believe that it is in the course of Providence and of human destiny that a great State is to arise, of English and American descent, whose power will be established over the country and the shores of the Pacific; and that all those rights of natural and political liberty, all those great principles, that both nations have inherited from their fathers, will be transmitted through us to them, so there will exist at the mouth of the Columbia, or more probably farther south, a great Pacific Republic, a nation where our children may go for a residence, separating themselves from the government, and forming an integral part of a new government half way between England and China, in the most healthful, fertile and desirable portion of the globe, and quite too far remote from Europe and from this side of the American continent to be under the governmental influence of either country."

And even then a railroad to the Pacific was being talked of by newspaper writers in New York.

C. T. JOHNSON.

LAST SURVIVOR OF THE OREGON MISSION OF 1840.

Searchers in the field of history sometimes stumble upon the rare joy of finding a living witness of events in the long ago, events which may have become tangled in the confused records after the death of the principal actors. Such was my experience on the broad plains of South Dakota in the month of July, 1907. I was visiting the reservations of Siouan tribes with Edward S. Curtis, helping in his monumental work among the Indians of North America. He had photographed many of the chiefs and head men of the Brule Sioux and I had recorded their biographies, when Mrs. Clark, wife of the Episcopalian missionary at Rosebud, came into camp and announced that there was a very old lady in the village who would like to meet the historian from the Oregon country. Mrs. Curtis became interested, and so we three started for the home of Dr. E. J. De Bell, who for twenty-three years has been a physician and trader at Rosebud. In this home his aged aunt, whose maiden name was Sarah Ruhamah De Bell, is spending the last years of her long and eventful life.

"I am glad to meet you, friends. I cannot see you at all, and I cannot hear a word you say unless you talk right here," pointing a long-wasted finger to her forehead.

"Is it true, Mrs. Beggs, that you went to Oregon in an early day?"

"Oh, yes. I went there around Cape Horn in 1840."

"Then you must have known George Abernethy, who afterwards became the first governor of the Provisional Government of Oregon."

"Indeed, I did. He was in our party and he was a fine gentleman, too."

"Did you know Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, Gustavus Hines and H. K. W. Perkins?"

"Yes, yes. I knew them well, and many others. Name some more of them. Did you know any of these?"

"No. Most of them had died before I was born. Let me see. Did you know J. P. Richmond, who was the first missionary on Puget Sound?"

"Yes, he and his family came with us around the Horn."

"Did you know Solomon H. Smith, who taught a little school at Fort Vancouver and then married an Indian woman and settled near the mouth of the Columbia river?"

"Yes."

"Why, then you must have known Rev. J. H. Frost, who established the mission at Clatsop?"

"Glory be to God! He was my husband!"

"What!"

"Yes. You see, after we returned from Oregon Mr. Frost died, and on January 1st, 1866, I was married to Rev. Stephen R. Beggs. So I am the widow of two Methodist ministers."

This valuable clue was seized upon, and the interviewer plied the questions that brought forth a flood of information and gossip about those historic days of early Oregon. The chance dropping of a word of the Chinook jargon was like an elixir. The old lady's face brightened and she proceeded with a lengthy discourse in that language, though probably half a century had passed since she had heard it used. In those early days she and her husband had used the Chinook in their home at Clatsop, as well as in religious services among the natives.

Sarah Ruhamah De Bell was born in Colchester, January 1st, 1816, and on the same day in 1834 she was united in marriage to Rev. J. H. Frost, and sailed with him and their little son for mission work in Oregon late in 1839.

She was very emphatic in her praise of the officers of the Hudson Bay Company, especially of Dr. John McLoughlin and Dr. W. Fraser Tolmie. They were always kind and considerate. She earnestly scouted the idea that these men or any of their associates could have had anything whatever to do toward inciting the Whitman massacre by the Indians. She was equally emphatic in denying that the Catholics had incited that murder, as has been charged by some writers. She is undoubtedly the last living survivor of that missionary epoch. As is usual with such aged people, her memory was much more clear on those events of 1840 than on the events of the last half century of her life.

She remembered very well the wreck of the Peacock, one of the vessels of the famous Wilkes exploring expedition, on July 18, 1841. She says Captain Hudson was a religious man, and that very Sunday of the wreck he had held services, using as a text: "This day I will be with thee in paradise." In recording the wreck Commander Wilkes says: "It being Sunday, Captain Hudson, as usual, performed divine service." Mrs. Beggs also says that the missionaries and their wives did all they could to relieve the sufferings of the shipwrecked men. On this point Commander Wilkes bears this testimony in his final report:

"Mr. Birnie, the agent of the Hudson Bay Company at Astoria, Messrs. Frost and Koen, the missionaries, with several residents, came promptly to the aid of the shipwrecked crew with provisions, tents, cooking utensils, and clothing, all vying with each other in affording assistance."

The old lady remembers that soon after they had located at Clatsop the ocean beach was strewn with twenty large whales. Her husband's journal says there were forty black-fish, measuring fifteen to twenty feet in length, and two large hump-back whales. Some of these monsters took a long time to die, but all of them furnished food for the Indians. The white folks saved as much as they could of the oil. For these purposes they cleaned portions of the whale intestines and made of them rude bottles for holding the oil. Many of these rude bottles were hung in the trees until they could be carried to the mission homes. They had a few little lamps in which this oil would be used, and these were supplemented by what were called "slut lamps," an open vessel filled with oil from which the burning wick would hang, after the fashion of the stone lamps of the Aleuts.

Mrs. Frost was the richest woman in Oregon so far as chinaware was concerned. She had carefully packed her treasures and now proudly boasts that not a thing was broken in the long journey, not even the handle of the fine gravy ladle. Her largest platter had indentations in the bottom from which gravy could be ladled. Her mouth seemed to drool as she recalled those great Columbia River salmon on that large platter.

She and Miss Maria T. Ware were chums on the voyage around the Horn. At Honolulu they bought new dresses just alike. Arriving in the Columbia River, and while waiting for assignment to their several mission stations, Rev. Daniel Lee proposed marriage to Miss Ware and was accepted. On that occasion Mrs. Frost served her friend as bridesmaid.

This suggests one of the best incidents related by the old lady at Rosebud:

"When I left the States in 1839 I had a lot of fine gowns. These were all nicely packed in a barrel. When we got out to Oregon I did not need these gowns, so I just left them in the barrel. I had a bureau, too, and a fine bonnet. Now, I did not need that bonnet in Oregon, so I put it in the bureau and left it there. When I got ready to leave Oregon I took my bonnet from the bureau and found that a skunk had gnawed a hole in the top and made a nest in my bonnet. I was a good milliner. I say it, but I really was a good milliner. I learned of a good woman. So I just put a fine bow of ribbon over that hole made

by the skunk and had a good bonnet again. As we drew near Boston I had that barrel of gowns opened and selected the best one there. As my husband and I walked down the gang-plank and along the streets folks turned around and stared at us, and they fairly snickered as we entered a missionary meeting. You see, when I left for Oregon the style was short gowns with low neck and short sleeves, and I guess the style must have changed considerably before I got back and opened that barrel again. But, do you know, my husband and I did not care a bit for their stares or their snickers."

One reason for the sensation was shown by a picture of Mrs. Beggs in 1872, when she was fifty-six years old. She was then tall, plump and commanding in appearance, with a beautiful and intellectual face. Boston certainly must have been pleased at that Rip Van Winkle apparition from the Far West.

As the interview at Rosebud drew to a close, the last survivor of the old Oregon mission days said:

"I don't know how many more days there are for me in this world, but one thing is sure, you have brought a glad hour that I will not forget. Nika tiki closh tumtum copa mika (I have a good heart toward you)."

This is an appropriate time and place to rescue from complete oblivion the name of Joseph H. Frost. A year ago the interest of the whole Northwest was aroused when the bones of Jason Lee were brought across the continent from Lower Canada and reburied with fine and elaborate ceremonies in the little cemetery he had established near the old Oregon mission more than seventy years before. Ten years ago a monument was reared over the grave of the martyred Marcus Whitman, near Walla Walla, thus celebrating the semi-centennial of his cruel murder by the Indians he was cheerfully giving his life to serve. These two great leaders earned the right of having their names cherished throughout the Pacific Northwest, but, as is so often the case in other walks of life, in bestowing honors upon the leaders, the names of their colleagues and assistants are allowed to slip into the refuse heap of forgotten history.

Not only is this true in regard to Missionary Frost, but Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his thirty-nine volume history of the Pacific States, casts mean slurs upon his character and work. Bancroft takes peculiar delight in ridiculing the missionaries, and yet the footnotes in his volumes show that he made free use of their diaries and journals in preparing his work. In volume XXIX., page 185, are two thrusts at Frost, as follows: "Frost

spent most of the summer between the missions and the forts of the fur company, apparently waiting for some one to provide a pleasant place for him." * * * "Frost being afraid of canoes, bears, savages, and, in a general way, of everything not to his liking, they made little progress, and the autumn rains came on before the green log-house was ready for use, or the mission goods had been brought from Astoria. However, by the time the December storms had set in, with the strong southwest winds and floods of rain, they had comfortable covering; but at night their floor was often covered with sleeping Indians of the filthiest habits, and through the leaky roof the water came down upon their beds."

Frost had been dead and his widow re-married for more than twenty years when Bancroft published those words, and yet it is not difficult to trace back to his source of information. When Frost left Oregon he had, as a fellow-passenger, Daniel Lee. The two planned, during the voyage, the publication of a book giving their experiences. The book appeared in New York in 1844 under the title of "Ten Years in Oregon." Bancroft drew frequently upon that little book, and from it drew the mean inferences quoted above, which a fair or impartial student would hesitate or refuse to do.

In the first place, the expedition that brought him to Oregon had brought a number of carpenters, blacksmiths and other artisans to aid the missionaries. He had a wife and child, besides himself, to shelter. He had never built a house. Now, what was more natural than that he should strenuously seek some of that expert help after he had been assigned to the lonely field of Clatsop, the farthest outpost at the very mouth of the Columbia River?

As to being afraid of canoes, every resident of Puget Sound or the Columbia River can readily recall the sensations of uncertainty, if not of fear, when first attempting to navigate in the frail canoes. It took me a long time to master one as a boy, and I combined the lessons with numerous swimming exercises.

Frost's portion of the little book referred to tells in a familiar way all about his trials and fears. In regard to Bancroft's slur that he was afraid of bears, I will let the missionary speak for himself out of his own book. He had been trying to get some of the expert help to build a shelter, but found them assigned to other stations and many of them sick with fever and ague. So he concluded to return and build the house himself with the

help of Solomon H. Smith, who was to locate with his Indian wife near the new mission home, and of Rev. W. W. Kone, who had been assigned to help him at the Clatsop station. The wreck of a large canoe manned by experts showed how well-founded was anybody's fear in such navigation. On page 282 of his book, Frost says:

"We now consulted upon the best mode of operation and determined that we would leave our families in the care of Mr. Birnie, while we would proceed immediately to the Clatsop Plain and put up a cabin. So after arranging matters as well as we could, and packing up our tools, and provisions, and tent, which occupied our time until the next day, we bid our families farewell, launched our canoe, and steered our course across Young's Bay, entered the Skapanowin River, paddled up to the head of canoe navigation, and hauled our crazy bark on shore. We now made up our cargo into packs, loaded ourselves, as we had no beast of burden, and by a circuitous route, through the marsh and across the plain, upon which we forded two creeks, reached the place selected for our dwelling about sunset. Just before we reached the place we discovered a large bear near the spot where we desired to pitch our tent; this caused us, strangers to this description of inhabitants, to hesitate; but as Mr. Smith said, 'I am not afraid of bears,' and marched on, not even deigning to notice our new neighbour, we took courage, and as we approached, the bear withdrew, and retired into the thicket so that we took possession of the place in peace, struck a fire, pitched our tent, and soon sat down to a hearty supper, which consisted of brown biscuit, pork roasted on a stick, and a cup of tea. We now united in prayer to Almighty God, imploring His direction and aid, that we might become instrumental in rearing the gospel standard in that wild place, where the enemy of all righteousness had from the beginning held unrivalled dominion."

Had Mr. Bancroft himself been educated in the East he would, under similar circumstances, manifest quite as much "fear" as is betrayed in this simple narrative.

In regard to Frost's being afraid of savages, the little journal is full of evidence that he had sufficient courage among them, and the sincerity of his efforts to improve them physically, intellectually and religiously did not, most assuredly, deserve the slurs in the Bancroft volume.

Even Bancroft has just a faint word of praise for Mrs. Frost as follows: "In February, 1843, Frost requested and received his discharge from the mission. He was suffering from a disease of the throat, which unfitted him for exposure, besides which Mrs. Frost, a kindly and cheerful woman by nature, was much broken down and discouraged."

This idea of Mrs. Frost's amiability was most likely obtained from the narrative of the famous Wilkes Expedition, published in Philadelphia in 1845, while the Bancroft book was published in 1886. In volume IV., pages 322 and 323, Commander Wilkes describes his visit to the Clatsop Mission as follows:

"On the 23d (Sunday) [May, 1841,] it was reported that a vessel was off the Cape firing guns. This made me extremely anxious to go thither, but as there was much difficulty in accomplishing this, Mr. Birnie proposed a trip to Point Adams, and a visit to the missionaries at Clatsop. This proposal I gladly accepted, and at an early hour the next morning we set out, crossed Young's Bay, landed, and after walking a mile, came to the mission, where we had the pleasure of seeing Mr. and Mrs. Frost. Mr. Frost gave us a kind welcome at his new dwelling, which I understood him to say had been built with his own hands. [Frost, in his own journal, published a year before the Wilkes publication, tells the help he had in building the cabin.] His wife appeared cheerful and happy, and made herself quite agreeable. The house is a frame one, of one story, and contains three rooms: it is situated in a young spruce and pine grove, which is thought to be the most healthy situation here. There are two American settlers, who are building houses here, named respectively Tibbits and Smith; both of them are very respectable men, and good mechanics. This place is not susceptible of improvement, and I understood that it had been chosen for its salubrity. I understood that Mr. Frost was engaged with the Rev. Mr. Koen in cultivating a tract of land, about four miles distant. The latter resides upon the tract, and is occupied in raising a large crop and superintending cattle. There appeared to me to be little opportunity for exercising their ministerial calling, though I understood afterwards that at particular seasons a number of Indians collected to hear them.

"After spending some time with them, Mr. Birnie, Mr. Frost and myself set off for Point Adams and Clatsop village. I think, in all my life, I had never met with so many snakes as I saw during this short walk: they were on the beach, where they were apparently feeding at low water. We looked from the sand-hills on Point Adams for vessels, but none were in sight; and then we walked on to the village. It consisted of a few rough lodges, constructed of boards or rather hewn planks, of large size; the interior resembled a miserably-constructed ship's cabin, with bunks, &c.; the only light was admitted from above, near the ridge and gable-end. Pieces of salmon and venison were hanging up in the smoke of their fire. Numbers of the Indians are always to be seen lounging about, and others gambling. On the bunk-planks are painted various uncouth figures of men, and in one was seen hanging the head of an elk, which it was understood they make use of occasionally as a decoy in the chase, for the purpose of taking their game more easily. Around the

whole is a palisade, made of thick planks and joists, about fifteen feet in length, set with one end in the ground, to protect them from attack.

"The Indians of this region even now make war upon each other on the most trivial occasion, and for the most part to satisfy individual revenge. The Hudson Bay Company's officers possess and exert a most salutary influence, endeavoring to preserve peace at all hazards. It is now quite safe for a white man to pass in any direction through the part of the country where their posts are, and in case of accident to any white settler, a war-party is at once organized, and the offender is hunted up. About a year previous to our arrival, an Indian was executed at Astoria for the murder of a white man, whom he had found asleep, killed, and stolen his property.

"He was taken, tried, found guilty, and executed in the presence of most of the settlers. The culprit was a slave, and it was some time before the chief to whom he belonged would give him up. It was proved on the trial, and through the confession of the slave, that he had stolen the property and committed the murder by order of his master, who took all the stolen goods. The master made his escape when he found his agency had been discovered; and I understood that he kept himself aloof from all the company's posts until the matter should be forgotten.

"As the tide had risen so much as to render it difficult to walk along the beach, we returned to Mr. Frost's in a crazy canoe, and were very near being upset. Had this accident happened, it must have proved fatal to some of us in the strong tide that was running; we therefore felt much relieved to get again to the beach. After partaking of Mrs. Frost's good cheer, we returned to Astoria, much pleased with our day's jaunt."

Wilkes was an officer of the United States Navy. He had been instructed to visit the missions in Oregon. So this is an official report. It shows some of the savage dangers confronting the Clatsop mission, as well as a glimpse of the life and work of the missionaries. In spite of a life spent on the sea, Commander Wilkes also expresses fear of the Columbia River canoe. How silly seem the slurs of Bancroft in the face of such evidence!

It may interest some readers to recall that one of the valliant officers of the Peacock at the time of her wreck at the mouth of the Columbia in July, 1841, was Lieutenant George F. Emmons, who afterwards led an overland expedition from Oregon to San Francisco, where he joined the Vincennes of the same expedition. He was the father of Lieutenant G. T. Emmons, who in late years has become famous as an expert on the Tlingit Indians of Alaska.

Another book of that missionary epoch was by Rev. Gustavus Hines, who calls his book, published in 1851, "Exploring Expedition to Oregon." Since Hines was a fellow passenger with Frost in 1839, I naturally turned to that book expecting to find a cordial and sympathetic record of his colleague's work and life. In this I was disappointed, for there is only the briefest possible mention of the Frosts in those pages. I suspect there are hidden reasons for this show of coolness on the part of Hines. Here is a quotation from his book, pages 235 and 236:

"Four missionaries had returned to the United States, the station at Puget's Sound had been abandoned, and the four appointments mentioned above [Hines at Oregon City and Tuality Plains; Leslie at the Wallamette settlement; Waller among the Indians along the Wallamette River; Parrish at Clatsop] connected with the mission school and the various secular departments, constituted the Oregon mission, when the Rev. George Gary, the newly appointed superintendent, arrived at Wallamette Falls on the 1st day of June, 1844.

"Mr. Gary had been appointed to supercede Mr. Lee in the superintendency of the mission in consequence of the dissatisfaction of the Board in New York with the latter, arising from the supposition founded in the statements of missionaries, oral and written, that they 'had been misled as to the necessity of so great a number of missionaries in Oregon,' and from the to them unaccountable fact that they had not been able to obtain any satisfactory report of the manner in which the large appropriations to the late reinforcement had been disbursed. These objections, however valid in the estimation of the Board, should not be considered as any disparagement to the character of Mr. Lee. Changes inconceivably great with respect to the Indians of Oregon took place betwixt the time the great reinforcement was called for, and the time of their arrival in the Columbia River. The natives were wasting away during the time, like the dews of the morning, so that Mr. Lee himself, on his return to Oregon with the reinforcement, was not among the least disappointed."

Then follows a discussion showing how much in error some of the estimates as to the numbers of Indians had been, how surprising the influx of white settlers since an appeal had been made for secular help for the missionaries and how the money matters had been placed in the hands of George Abernethy, who likely found his work too heavy to send regular reports to the Board in New York. All this explained the wrong impression that had resulted in the recall of Jason Lee.

No doubt there were a number of gloomy reports from the missionaries in Oregon. Mr. Frost is responsible for one of

these, for he writes, on pages 233 and 234 of "Ten Years in Oregon," as follows:—"those who have found the Indians of Oregon to be very anxious, as they have stated, to have missionaries sent among them that they might be taught 'how to worship the Great Spirit aright,' have been led into error, not being sufficiently acquainted with the beings with whom they had to do to understand the secret drift of their pretensions. And, no doubt, this is one, if not the greatest reason, why the church has been led to put an improper estimate upon the prospect of Christianizing and civilizing the natives of that region, and must now realize the consequences, namely, disappointment and regret —disappointment because the work which she expected her missionaries to be instrumental in accomplishing has not been accomplished by them; and regret that so many thousands, which ought to have been employed in the cultivation of a more promising field, have been spent in Oregon for the purpose of effecting that which, in all sober reason, ought never to have been expected."

However close to the truth, such reasoning as that would have been combatted by partisans of Lee during that period of misunderstandings.

Mr. Frost claimed no great things for himself. He was in Oregon three years and three months. During that time he endured the privations and hardships incident to his calling at such a time and place. He helped to build four houses in the wilderness, he helped to save shipwrecked men, he explored a route from Tillamook to the Willamette valley, he fed and clothed hungry and naked Indians and sought to improve them morally, physically and religiously, he strenuously and bravely opposed the degraded seamen who tried to inflame the savages with liquor, he preached the Gospel and prayed fervently on every appropriate occasion until bronchitis closed his throat, he returned to the States and published a plain, sensible account of his experiences and observations—a little book that is full of valuable information about the country and its inhabitants. This, in brief, is the record of Missionary Frost. No sensible man should slur or be ashamed of such a record. In fact, it is a page of our early history in which we may all take pride.

The mission immigration of 1840 was one of the most important events in early Oregon history. Never had so large a company sailed from the States to a mission field, and so the sailing was important also to the religious and political circles

of New York and the entire East. Jason Lee had taken with him to the East a memorial to Congress by the citizens of the Oregon country asking for the protection of the United States. This memorial was presented to the Senate by Linn, of Missouri, on January 28, 1839. On the 11th of the preceding December the same Senator had introduced a bill to organize Oregon Territory from the forty-second degree north and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. The memorial and Lee's personal appeal must have had considerable effect. Bancroft gives Rev. Josiah L. Parrish as authority for the statement that, as Farnham and Fry, shipowners, could not carry the missionaries to Oregon for the price offered by the society, the cabinet at Washington drew on the secret service fund and paid fifty dollars a head for the entire passenger list. Parrish said he did not learn of this fact until he had been in Oregon seven years. It should be remembered that Great Britain and the United States were living under the Joint Occupancy treaty, waiting for the future to settle the ownership of Oregon. This is why the large mission company excited political as well as religious interest.

The ship Lausanne, under command of Captain Josiah Spaulding, sailed from New York on October 10, 1839. Her large "mission family" consisted of fifty-one souls, including the following: Mr. and Mrs. Jason Lee; Rev. Joseph H. Frost, wife and one child; Rev. William W. Kone and wife; Rev. Alvan F. Waller, wife and two children; Rev. J. P. Richmond, M. D., wife and four children; Ira L. Babcock, M. D., wife and one child; Rev. Gustavus Hines, wife and one child; George Abernethy, mission steward, wife and two children; W. W. Raymond, farmer, and wife; Henry B. Brewer, farmer, and wife; Rev. Lewis H. Judson, cabinet-maker, wife and three children; Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, blacksmith, wife and three children; James Olley, carpenter, wife and children; Hamilton Campbell, wife and children; David Carter, Miss Chloe A. Clark, Miss Elmira Phillips, Miss Maria T. Ware, Miss Almira Phelps, teachers; Miss Orpha Lankton, stewardess, and Thomas Adams, the Chinook whom Mr. Lee had taken with him to Oregon.

Many of those names became familiar in the stirring history of Oregon during the decade from 1840 to 1850. The Lausanne sailed into the Columbia River on May 21, 1840, and not long thereafter her living cargo was distributed to the various mission stations at the Willamette Falls, The Dalles, Clatsop and Nis-

qually. The earnest men and women started in with vigor to do the work for which they had risked their lives. It is not for human statisticians to attempt a tally-sheet on which to count the number of souls they redeemed from savagery. Their influence was for good among the redmen and among the pale faces who swarmed into the new lands. As the white children multiplied, the mission Indian school evolved into the Oregon Institute and that into Willamette University, which survives, a successful institution of learning at the present time. Such influences are like the tides of the ocean. No one can measure the entire length of the ebbs and floods, and yet upon them many a ship glides safely into harbor.

My chance meeting at Rosebud with the last survivor of this band of toilers for Christ will always linger in my memory. The trembling benediction she waved at our parting will brighten the pages of Oregon history, whether I read or write.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE WHITMAN MONUMENT.

The following statement regarding the deficiency on the Whitman monument, and the present effort to pay it, has been sent to all the Congregational churches in the State of Washington. It is hoped that those who love the history of the State and who are interested in the achievements, as well as the sufferings of the pioneers, will lend a hand toward this desirable result:

Inspired by a most pathetic appeal made by one of four Nez Perce Indians who had been sent across the western half of the continent to St. Louis to learn of the white man's God and the book of heaven, Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. H. H. Spaulding, with their wives, accompanied by a single man by the name of Wm. H. Gray, came in 1836 from the Atlantic Coast to what was then known as Oregon to teach the Indians the way of life.

Two years later a second delegation, consisting of Rev. Cushing Eells, Rev. Elkanah Walker and Rev. A. B. Smith, with their wives, also accompanied by Wm. H. Gray and his wife, who had gone East the previous year and married, made the same journey for the same purpose. Three mission stations were established, one at Walla Walla, occupied by Dr. Whitman and Mr. Gray; one among the Nez Perce Indians, where Mr. Spaulding and Mr. Smith labored, and the third among the Spokane Indians, where Messrs. Walker and Eells were located. By the year 1842 two families had dropped out. Mr. Smith, on account of ill health of himself or wife, returned East, and Mr. Gray moved to the Willamette Valley, where he settled. The other four families continued to labor faithfully, earnestly, and to a certain extent successfully for the good of the Indians, until the 29th of November, 1847, when Dr. Whitman and wife and a dozen others were ruthlessly murdered by the Cayuse Indians, among whom they were living.

Succeeding hostilities made it unsafe for the other missionaries to remain longer in the country, the mission was broken up, and the work abandoned. For twelve years it was considered unsafe for Americans to live east of the Cascade Mountains.

Of the results of their work, I would say in passing, that twenty-five years after they left their fields there were found to be five hundred Christian Indians living consistent and devoted lives, and a few years later a Bible school was established among the Nez Perce Indians from which scores of young men have been sent out to preach to their own people and other surrounding tribes.

In the year 1859 Rev. Cushing Eells conceived the idea of establishing a Christian school as a monument to the memory of the first Christian martyrs of the Northwest Coast. This has culminated in what is now Whitman College.

A few years later Wm. H. Gray conceived the idea of having a monument of granite erected to mark the spot where they fell.

During the seventies he collected various sums of money for this purpose, which were deposited in one of the banks in Portland. Some time in the eighties he died, leaving this object of his life only partially completed.

Early in the year 1897 a meeting was held in the First Presbyterian Church of Portland, Oregon, to take steps to hold a suitable celebration at the half century mark of their death, and also to have erected the monument contemplated by Mr. Gray. A joint committee was appointed, of three in Portland and three in Walla Walla, and the work of securing a title to the land, of purchasing the stone, and arranging for the celebration was apportioned among the several members of the committee. The land was secured, a contract for the stone was made, it was delivered and set up, and the services were held. The contract price for the stone work was $2,250. What Mr. Gray had collected, with accrued interest, then amounted to about $800; other collections were made, current expenses were met, but only enough was secured to make a payment of $1,150 on the contract for the stone work, leaving a balance of $1,100 still due.

Shortly after this, the chairman of the committee who made the contract, and who seems to have been its financier, died, leaving the $1,100 still unpaid. The work of raising the money to pay this deficiency languished, and then died also.

The contract was so made that there could be no lein on the monument, the claim has been outlawed, and there is no legal obligation on the part of any one to pay this sum, but for ten years now this deficiency has existed, a debt of honor, but from whom?

A year ago, when this association met in Walla Walla, an excursion was taken to the grounds, suitable exercises were held, and the fact of the aforementioned deficiency became generally known and was freely discussed. The suggestion was made that the association invite the Presbyterians to unite with them in an effort to raise the money to wipe off this indebtedness. For what seemed good and sufficient reasons, however, it was thought better that the Presbyterians take the initiative, consequently no action was taken. I would here say by way of explanation, that at the time the mission existed it was supported by the American Board, which then comprised the Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed denominations. Dr. Whitman being a Presbyterian, the obligation to do honor to the sainted dead was mutual.

A few weeks later the Presbyterian Synod met in Walla Walla, at which time an informal meeting of the friends of the measure from both denominations was held, at which time a committee was appointed, composed of Rev. James C. Reid, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Walla Walla, chairman; Rev. Austin Rice, pastor of the First Congregation Church of Walla Walla, and President S. B. L. Penrose of Whitman College. To this committee the name of Edwin Eells of Tacoma was subsequently added.

This committee has had several meetings and conferences, the last being in Seattle last month, at which Dr. Matthews, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Seattle, was present. It was agreed to invite other leading and influential men in the principal cities of the State to assist, and also to refer the matter to the State organizations of the two denominations at their annual meeting this year.

At a later conference of the Executive Committee at Walla Walla, it was agreed to ask each denomination to try to raise the minimum sum of $550.00 and to have this done before the Sixteenth Anniversary of the massacre, which will be next November, and then to hold commemorative exercises with the monument free from debt.

Messrs. Rice and Eells are here to present this matter to the association, and ask for endorsement and such other action as shall seem to them wise and best. Edwin Eells, of 1020 North J Street, Tacoma, has been selected as the treasurer of the committee, to whom any moneys may be sent to apply on this indebtedness.

We respectfully submit this matter to your careful consideration.

AUSTIN RICE,
EDWIN EELLS,
Committee.

The Congregational Association, which met at Bellingham, September 17 to 19, unanimously adopted the following resolution by a rising vote:

"We heartily commend the holding of an appropriate commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Whitman Massacre at the scene of this event in our heroic past, on November 29 next.

"We believe this should have a more than local observance, and therefore recommend that Sunday, October 27, be observed in every Congregational Church in the State as Whitman Day, and that on that day every church in the State shall share in the privilege of clearing off the indebtedness remaining on the noble monument which marks this hallowed spot, and that every church be represented at this anniversary observance."

The following letter has been sent to all the Presbyterian churches in the State of Washington:

Walla Walla, Washington, Oct. 16, 1907.

Dear Sir and Brother:

At the recent meeting of the Synod of Washington, in the City of Tacoma, October 3-5, it was ordered that, in view of the fact that Marcus Whitman was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, and as such was sent as a missionary to the Indians of the Northwest, and that there is now an indebtedness of $1,100.00 on the monument erected to his memory about ten

years since; and in view of the further fact that the Congregational Association of the State of Washington has taken steps to raise one-half of the said indebtedness before the sixtieth anniversary of the massacre, November 29, 1907, the churches within the bounds of the said synod be requested to take an offering on Sabbath, October 27, or as soon thereafter as possible, to be applied toward liquidating the remainder of the said indebtedness. By further order of the synod, the undersigned was appointed to bring this matter before all of the ministers in charge of congregations within the bounds of the said synod.

To aid you in intelligently presenting the cause to your people, I enclose herewith a brief historical resume, which I believe to be in the main authentic.

In order to encourage your people in this matter and, at the same time, to awaken a more general interest in the work accomplished by Marcus Whitman, Spaulding and their associates, it has been arranged to send to each congregation taking an offering, however great or small, a 14 x 16 photo of the statue of Marcus Whitman, which stands in front of the Witherspoon Building, our general office building in Philadelphia; this will be a valuable acquisition to your collection of missionary exhibits and is large enough to be framed and hang in your church parlors or lecture-room.

Please forward all offerings, as soon as possible after taking same, to the treasurer, Mr. Edwin Eells, Tacoma, Washington, 1020 North J Street. Also please notify the undersigned as to the amount sent to Mr. Eells, that he may be able to know just where we stand.

While our action in this matter is not prompted by any sense of legal obligation, let us feel that our interest in this the first Presbyterian martyr of this great Northwest is such that we should not allow his memory to be longer clouded by this unfortunate indebtedness. If every congregation to which this obligation is presented will only do something we will be enabled ere the ides of November rolls round to wipe out the whole of this debt and to plan for a celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the massacre of Marcus Whitman free from all embarrassment.

Praying that the Lord may bless you in the presentation of this cause to your people and them in making a generous offering that would be honoring to Him, I am, most sincerely,

Yours in His name,

JAMES C. REID.

We hope the Oregon churches of both denominations will likewise respond to this appeal and that the entire debt will surely be removed from the Whitman monument before the arrival of the sixtieth anniversary of his tragic death.

EDWIN EELLS.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The operations of the United States Army were more extensive and more interesting in the Territory of Washington during the first years after the separation from Oregon than at any period since. They included several years of warfare with the Indians, and in connection therewith required the establishment of a number of military posts. The troubles with the Indians were no more than settled before another of alarming character loomed up in the San Juan Island embroglio of 1859-'60. There were also operations in military roads, some of which were opened and some merely projected, but all of which were more or less exciting in those the days of first and small things. The soldiers came and went. Barracks were built at Steilacoom, Port Townsend, Bellingham, San Juan, Colville and elsewhere, at enormous expense, and abandoned after a few years' occupancy. Fortifications were erected on San Juan Island, and others were contemplated at Point Defiance and like places. The War of Rebellion changed matters greatly, the many regular soldiers being displaced by a few volunteers, and not until nearly forty years later were there so many army posts and so many Federal troops in Washington as were here a half century ago. It is not the purpose of this article to enter in detail upon the works and movements of the United States soldiers here at that time, but merely to tell in briefest manner possible of the posts temporarily or permanently established, and equally briefly of a few of their occupants. Many of the officers at these stations became very prominent during the Civil War a few years later, going from the lower ranks to the very top, two of them—Captain U. S. Grant and Lieutenant P. H. Sheridan—becoming commanders over all. Grant was at Fort Vancouver in 1853, and Sheridan at the Cascades in 1856, and later at Fort Vancouver and at Fort Hoskins in Oregon. It may be just as well here to correct a common and oft-repeated misstatement, that these two officers were stationed at Fort Steilacoom, and that they were known to many of the old residents, slept and ate in various public houses, played billiards and did similar and many remarkable things at different places in Western Washington. Neither of these men ever lived on Puget Sound, ever visited it or ever saw it, and the stories told of them so glibly in connection with this part of the country are fiction pure and simple.

The first military posts established in Washington were in the summer of 1849, General B. Riley then having command of the United States military forces on the Pacific. Major Hathaway then landed at Vancouver, and began a station that has continued to this day; that has been favored in the past above all others on the Pacific Coast except the Presidio at San Francisco, and that now is more extensive and consequential than at any time before. Captain Bennett M. Hill came up the Coast on the same ship with Major Hathaway, but continued on to Puget Sound, where he located an army post on the prairie back of the present town of Steilacoom. The suite was occupied as a garrison for about twenty years, when it was abandoned, the land and buildings upon it being acquired by the Territory for the purposes of a hospital for the insane, and so used since. These two were the only military encampments for seven years. Colonel Bonneville succeeded Major Hathaway, and Major Larnard followed Captain Hill, at Vancouver and Steilacoom, respectively.

The forts or posts, their commanders and troops, were as here stated for the first eight years of Washington Territory:

1853.

Fort Vancouver—Two companies of the Fourth United States Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville.

Fort Steilacoom—Two companies of the Fourth United States Infantry, commanded by Brevet Major Chas. H. Larnard. While at this station Major Larnard visited Whidby Island with a few soldiers in an open boat, looking after troublesome Indians. A storm arose, the boat was lost, and he and others were drowned.

Brigadier-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock then commanded the Pacific Division. Headquarters were at Benicia, California.

1854.

Fort Vancouver—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bonneville.

Fort Steilacoom—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain D. A. Russell.

In 1854, '55 and '56 the Department of the Pacific was commanded by Brevet Major-General John E. Wool.

1855.

Fort Vancouver—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Major G. J. Rains.

Fort Steilacoom—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain M. Maloney.

1856.

Fort Vancouver—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel T. Morris.

Fort Steilacoom—Three companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey.

New Post on Muckleshoot Prairie—Two companies of the Third Artillery and Fourth Infantry, under Captain E. D. Keyes.

Camp on Nachess River—Three companies of the Ninth Infantry, under Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Steptoe.

Camp on the Yakima River—Eight companies of the First Dragoons, Third Artillery, Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Colonel George Wright.

New Post at Cascades—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain C. S. Winder.

1857.

Fort Vancouver—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel T. Morris.

Fort Steilacoom—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain M. Maloney.

Fort Bellingham—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain George E. Pickett.

Escort to Northwestern Boundary Commission—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain D. Woodruff.

Fort Townsend—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Major Granville O. Haller.

Military Post on Muckleshoot Prairie—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Second Lieutenant D. B. McKibbin.

Fort Simcoe, Sixty-five Miles North of Fort Dalles, in Simcoe Valley, Yakima County—Three companies of the Ninth Infantry, under Major R. S. Garnett.

Fort Walla Walla—Four companies of the First Dragoons, Third Artillery, Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe.

En Route for Fort Walla Walla—One company of the First Dragoons, under Captain A. J. Smith.

The Department of the Pacific was commanded by Brigadier-General Newman S. Clark in 1857 and also in 1858.

1859.

Fort Vancouver—Five companies of the Third Artillery and Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris.

Fort Steilacoom—Three companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Casey.

Escort to Northwestern Boundary Commission—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain D. Woodruff, at Semiahmoo Bay. Also one company of the Ninth Infantry under Captain J. J. Archer at Osoyoos Lake.

Fort Bellingham—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain Pickett.

Harney Depot, in Colville Valley—Two companies of the Ninth Infantry, under Major P. Lugenbeel.

Fort Townsend—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Major Haller.

Fort Cascades—One company of the Third Artillery, under Captain J. A. Hardie.

Fort Walla Walla—Four companies of the First Dragoons and Ninth Infantry, under Colonel Wright.

Escort to Lieutenant John Mullen's Walla Walla and Fort Benton Road Party—A detachment of the Third Artillery, under Lieutenant J. L. White.

General William S. Harney commanded the Department of Oregon, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver, in 1859, and in 1860, until relieved by Colonel George Wright.

1860.

Fort Vancouver—Six companies of Engineers and Third Artillery, under Major F. O. Wyse.

Fort Steilacoom—Four companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Casey.

Fort Walla Walla—Four companies of the First Dragoons and Ninth Infantry, under Major W. H. Grier.

Fort Cascades—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant F. Mallory.

Camp Chehalis, on Gray's Harbor—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain Maloney.

Camp Pickett, on San Juan Island—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain Pickett.

Harney Depot—Four companies of the Ninth Infantry, under Major Lugenbeel.

Escort to Lieutenant Mullan's Walla Walla and Fort Benton Road Party—Detachment of the Third Artillery, under Lieutenant White.

En Route to the Department at the Citadel on the Missouri River, 89 Miles Below Fort Benton—Recruits, under Major G. A. H. Blake, of the First Dragoons.

Escort to Northwestern Boundary Commission at Semiahmoo Bay—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Second Lieutenant McKibben.

Escort to Northwestern Boundary Commission—Detachment of the Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant E. E. Camp.

"The Department of Oregon" lasted but one year, or a little more, the Department of the Pacific succeeding it, as it also preceded it.

The reader will bear in mind that the foregoing reports of garrisons and commanders were based upon the situation at each post on the 30th of June. Officers then may have been in temporary command, and occasionally were, and again posts were at times temporarily abandoned, and so do not appear in the reports.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

Being assigned the duty of searching, for a class in history at the University of Washington, the facts pertaining to the participation of Washington Territory in the war between the States, I succeeded in finding the following:

The First Washington Volunteer Infantry was raised and organized in compliance with an order given to Colonel Justus Steinberger by the War Department under date of October 18, 1861, requiring him to enlist a regiment of volunteers in the Territory of Washington and the contiguous States, to be known as the First Washington Volunteer Infantry, for service in the Civil War, Colonel Steinberger to appoint the officers by and with the consent of the governor of the Territory.

The regiment was raised partly in this territory, partly in Oregon, and partly in California. The organization contained ten companies, or nine hundred and sixty-four men, part of whom were mustered into service at Alcatraz Island, San Francisco, and part at Vancouver, Washington, and part at Fort Steilacoom, Washington. This regiment served at Pacific Coast army posts during the entire war, and was mustered out in 1866.

On May 10, 1861, an effort was made to organize a militia for Civil War duty. The proclamation calling for this organization was based on the proclamation of President Lincoln, and its purpose was to have "the militia of the Territory of Washington * * * placed in readiness to meet any requisition from the President of the United States, or the governor of the Territory, to aid in 'maintaining the laws and integrity of the National Union.'" Isaac I. Stevens was captain of the Puget Sound Rifles (Company B), organized May 25th, 1861; but a complete organization seems to have failed, and Stevens went East to become a major-general of volunteers and to fall at the battle of Chantilly in 1862.

Summarizing the services of the Territory in the Civil War, we have as follows:

(1). The organization and service of the First Washington Territorial Volunteer Infantry at Coast points, holding the In-

dians in check and doing service that would otherwise have required regulars.

(2). The continued loyalty of the people, as testified by the expressions of the Legislature.

(3). The contribution to the federal arms of one of its most brilliant officers—Isaac I. Stevens.

(4). The contribution of many of its citizens to both contending armies. Among these was J. Patton Anderson, first United States Marshal of the Territory; appointed governor in 1857, but declined; Territorial delegate 1855 to 1857; delegate from Florida in the secession convention, and later Brigadier-General of the Confederate Army. Another was John M. Wilson, appointed cadet at West Point, from the Territory in 1855, a distinguished officer of the Union Army during the war, and chief of engineers of the army, from 1897, to his retirement in 1901. Another was Charles P. Eagan, appointed First Lieutenant of the First Washington Territorial Volunteer Infantry, June 21, 1862; appointed Second Lieutenant of the Ninth United States Infantry, August 30, 1866; successively rose to be Brigadier-General of the army, and served as Commissary General from May 3, 1898, to his retirement in 1900. And still another was the Confederate, Pickett, of Gettysburg, upon whom Washington has some claim, since he served for so long and with such distinction in this Territory during the San Juan dispute.

Considering the fact that the census of 1860 showed a population of 11,594 spread over what is now Washington, Idaho, and all of Montana west of the Rockies, and that this number was considerably reduced by a general exodus to the new mines in British Columbia in 1861, we see that Washington did very well.

For the above facts I am indebted to Mr. A. N. Brown, of Olympia, and to the War Department of the United States.

FRANK A. KITTREDGE.

The letters written by Mr. Brown during this research contain much information that should be preserved for the use of future historians. His letter from Olympia, under date of 22 April, 1907, contained the following:

I would suggest that you write to the Adjutant General of the State of Washington at Olympia requesting that a copy of

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the biennial report of the Adjutant General for the years 1891-1892 be forwarded to you, inasmuch as that document contains all the information on the subject available at Olympia.

The First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry was raised and organized in compliance with an order given to Colonel Justus Steinberger by the War Department under date of October 18, 1861, requiring him to enlist a regiment of volunteers in the Territory of Washington and contiguous States, to be known as the First Washington Volunteer Infantry, for service in the Civil War, Colonel Steinberger to appoint the officers by and with the advice and consent of the Governor of the Territory. Under this authority Colonel Steinberger raised a regiment which was organized partly in this territory and partly in California. Company A was organized March 21, 1862; Company C, April 7, 1862, and Company D, April 12, 1862. I am unable to give you the dates of the organization of the other companies. The organization contained ten companies, part of which were mustered into service at Alcatraz Island, San Francisco, and part at Fort Vancouver, Washington, and part at Fort Steilacoom, Washington. The report I mention gives the names of all the officers and the muster roll of Company C. This regiment served at Pacific Coast army posts during the entire war and was mustered out apparently in 1866; the exact date I am unable to give you. That data can be obtained from the War Department at Washington. In 1863 the Legislature of Washington presented to the regiment a set of colors. This subsequently was returned to the Territory, and by resolution of the Legislature in 1867 was consigned to the custody of the Secretary of State. One of the two flags is now in the possession of the Governor's office. The other flag, save for a few tattered remnants, has fallen to pieces and the remnants are in the hands of Mrs. R. G. O'Brien, wife of the former Adjutant-General of the State.

Regretting that I am unable to give you more information on the subject, I am

Very truly yours
ASHMUN N. BROWN,
Secretary to the Governor.

[Mr. Brown's letter of 26 April, 1907, contains the following:]

In the Washington Territorial session laws for 1862 you will find the resolution of the Legislature calling attention to the fact that the army posts on the Coast had been vacated by regulars and asking the commanding officer of the army on the Coast to make provision for sending troops to them. This, I assume, expressed the prevailing sentiment on the Coast that led to the authorization of Oregon and Washington volunteer regiments for home protection from the Indians and other possible enemies. This resolution was dated January 28, 1862.

In the laws of 1862 and 1863 you will find several memorials and resolutions that throw some light on the fears of our people. The Confederate privateer Shenandoah was loose about that time in the North Pacific and had our people somewhat rattled. For something about her see the accounts of her cruise in the various official publications; also see Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Northwest.

See the session laws of 1863 for the resolution of January 6, 1863, providing for the presentation of a set of colors to the regiment; and the session laws of 1867 for the resolution of January 16 (Council) and January 19, (House) 1867, regarding the return of the colors.

In the fall or winter of 1905 I let the Seattle Post-Intelligencer have an article giving the text of several letters of Acting Governor L. Jay S. Turney, written in 1862, regarding the formation of our regiment. I have not a copy of that article, and do not remember the date. The letters set forth several interesting facts regarding the regiment, none very important historically, however. I found them in an old record book we have in this office. Being rather busy I cannot undertake to copy them for you, but I suggest you run through the files of the Post-Intelligencer (Sunday edition) from September, 1905, to February, 1906, and find the article. It was illustrated by pictures of sets of historic colors.

This same old record book contains several proclamations of Territorial Governors regarding the war, its beginning, its conduct and its close. I do not think these proclamations are in print anywhere. Also it contains the names of the officers of the Washington Territory militia in 1861, when, under General Orders No. 1 of the Territory, issued by the Territorial Adjutant-General May 14, 1861, in accordance with the proclamation of Henry McGill, acting Governor, May 10, 1861, an effort was made to organize that force for Civil War duty. This proclamation was based on the proclamation of President Lincoln and its purpose was to have "the militia of the Territory of Washington * * * placed in readiness to meet any requisition from the President of the United States, or the Governor of this Territory, to aid in 'maintaining the laws and integrity of the National Union.'" This list shows that Isaac I. Stevens was captain of the Puget Sound Rifles (Company B), organized May 25, 1861. The attempt to make a complete organization seems to have failed and Stevens went East, to become a Major-General of volunteers and to fall at the battle of Chantilly in 1862. (See Hazard Stevens' Life of Isaac I. Stevens.)

A tour through the session laws of the Territory during the years of the Civil War will bring to your attention a number of memorials and resolutions testifying the loyalty of this Territory during the Rebellion.

[Then follows the summary used by Mr. Kittredge, above.]

This seems to me to make up a pretty good record.

[Mr. Brown followed with a third letter, dated 28 May, 1907, containing the following:]

I am able now to give you the names and postoffice addresses of some of the surviving members of the First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry (1862-'66). They are as follows:

Michael J. Murray (Co. F), State Soldiers' Home, Orting, Washington.

James M. Thomas (Cos. F and E), The Dalles, Oregon.

George W. Easterbrook (Cos. F and E), 146 E. 26th Street, Portland, Oregon.

Abraham Bell (Cos. F and E), Macy, Miami County, Indiana.

Thomas Blackenship (Co. E or F), Watertown, South Dakota.

Daniel Dougherty (Co. E or F), Soldiers' Home, Los Angeles, California.

John F. Fraser (Co. E), National Soldiers' Home, Vermillion County, Illinois.

Hazen Squier, Lewiston, Idaho.

Isaac N. Smith, 746 Savier Street, Portland, Oregon.

In addition to these, Brigadier-General C. P. Eagan, United States Army, retired, is still living. His address can be obtained from the War Department.

These names and addresses I obtained from a special examiner of the Bureau of Pensions, who came to me with an inquiry as to whether or not a bounty ever was paid to members of this regiment to enlist. He had me stumped.

[In pursuing his search Mr. Brown wrote to Doctor Easterbrook and procured the following letter, under date of 31 May, 1907:]

In answer to yours of 28th inst. concerning the First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry, also about its Colonel, Justus Steinberger, I have the honor to submit the following, obtained from Reference Room of Public Library of this City.

Daily Oregonian, October 14th, 1870. Helena, Montana. Yesterday in this City, Major Steinberger, Paymaster U. S. Army, was thrown from his horse. He died at 2 o'clock this morning from injuries received. His remains were taken to Fort Shaw for burial.

Daily Oregonian, October 15th, 1870.

Major Justus Steinberger killed by being thrown from his horse. Major Steinberger was an Agent for Pacific Mail Co. when that company ran its steamers to Portland, Oregon. Afterward employed Agent for Adams Co.'s Express at this place when that company wound up in a failure. He then entered the service, passed to the grade of Colonel, and after filling many places of honor, was finally appointed to the position of Paymaster with the rank of Major. He was universally respected and kindly remembered by his many friends here.

This is all that can be found of Colonel Justus Steinberger, nothing known of family nor of any portrait extant.

For few facts as to the Regiment, see War of Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. L, giving some items, also two official letters of the Col. on pages 114-174, same series and vol.

I will here relate what little I know. I joined Company F, Captain Wm. V. Spencer, First Lieutenant Peter Fox, Second Lieutenant James Halloran, July 10, 1862, at Fort Vancouver, Washington. I was at the time a resident of the Territory since 1859. Our Company never came under notice of the Colonel to our knowledge. We were kept at Fort Vancouver until late in December, 1862, when we were sent to the Dalles, Oregon, and garrisoned Fort Dalles up to March, 1865; when we were returned to Fort Vancouver on the consolidation of the Regiment and were merged into Company E, Captain William Knox. During our stay at Fort Dalles, Oregon, Captain William V. Spencer was detailed on service in the Adjutant General's office either at Fort Walla Walla or Vancouver and the command fell to First Lieutenant Peter Fox, who was at the same time Post Commander, A. A. Q. M. and A. A. C. S. Lieutenant Fox was cashiered and dismissed the service, I think in the spring of '64. Second Lieutenant Halloran then commanded the Company until we were turned over to Company E. Lieutenant Halloran then passed to a lieutenancy in the Regular Army and, Captain Knox being relieved on account of disability, we were commanded until final discharge July 8, 1865, by First Lieutenant James Shipply, First Oregon Infantry.

We never came in contact with the Regiment as a whole or in part other than as I have stated. Any other service I can render I am yours at command.

Respectfully

GEORGE W. EASTERBROOK
Late Musician Companies F and E, First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry.

[Evidently there was an attempt made to organize another regiment. William Pickering, who was Governor of Washington Territory from 1862 to 1864, received a significant letter in 1864. The original is among the manuscript collections of the University of Washington and is as follows:]

Fort Vancouver, W. T., Oct. 21, 1864.

Governor:

We received here last night notice of an order by Maj. Gen. McDowell for raising a regiment of infantry in Oregon and Washington Territory. We have no details of the plan by which this is to be done. I presume an effort will be made to raise the regiment by enlisting volunteers. When that fails a draft will be ordered.

I hope you will be careful should any troops be raised in Washington to secure the appointment of officers for them from

your territory. Do not fail in this matter. We want no secesh officers.

The news from the East is generally good on which I congratulate you.

Mrs. F. sends you her respects.

I am, as ever, yours

SIMEON FRANCIS.

[When the above material is utilized for the preparation of an interesting chapter of State history there is still another item that should not be overlooked. Arthur A. Denny manifested an interest in this matter, and not long before his death he made the statement that the ladies of Washington Territory were very patriotic during that war. They co-operated with the Sanitary Commission, the records showing that, in proportion to population, they led every State and Territory in the Union, in sending supplies for the comfort of the soldiers.]

DOCUMENTS.

There are here presented another instalment of the old Hudson Bay Company documents secured from Canadian archives by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye while preparing her recent book on McDonald of Oregon.

The Farm at Fort Vancouver.

McLoughlin's predecessor on the Columbia reported that it was impossible to grow provisions in this region. Headquarters were moved from Astoria to Vancouver in 1825, and the following letter shows how the new farm prospered:

John McLeod, Esquire.

Fort Vancouver, 1st March, 1832.

My dear Sir,

I have now before me your kind letter of 2nd July by which I am happy to see that you are safely returned from across the Atlantic after having I presume had the pleasure of seeing your friends—by the by you omit mentioning whether you had any explanation about your Columbia affair and how things at present stand at home. I hope if an opportunity offered that you produced my Letters to you on the subject,—as to us here we go on in the old way Ogden is at Nass—this year though of three vessels only two could go on the coast and one was only fifteen days and the other was only three months still the coasting trade will clear itself and this year when we have nothing to interrupt our proceedings we intend to give it the first fair Trial it has had and from what has been done this year we have every reason to expect it will do well. Our other Branches of Business go on in the usual way our farm yielded

1800 Bushels wheat
1200 " barley
600— pease
400—Indian Corn
600—potatoes

I dare say the last article would be enough for all the Kings posts as to Returns you know I cant give you any information on that head as the accounts are not made out though I suppose they are about as usual quantity. I suppose you heard of the fever and ague being prevailing here in 1830 and I am sorry to say that it raged with greater violence in 1831 and for a time put an entire stop to all our Business. But thanks be to God for his mercies—My family and me Enjoyed good health. I

cannot but shudder when I think of Harriotts poor wife. Poor fellow it has affected him much—With best Wishes for your well fare Believe me to be

Yours truly,
(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

Fever and Ague.

Many of the letters tell of the fever and ague on the Columbia in those early days. This writer says he could more easily endure a frozen nose at Norway House.

John McLeod, Esq.

Fort Vancouver, Columbia 16th March 1832.

My dear Sir,

I flatter myself that the interest you take in hearing of my welfare is sufficient to make you happy to hear that I reached my destination here in safety. I need say nothing of the Columbia to you who have already seen it. I may however mention that I find the climate very different from that of Norway House. We run no risk of freezing our noses but we are liable to be laid up with fever again and ague now very prevalent here and which more than compensates for a frozen nose. I have found Dr. McLoughlin very kind, he like yourself is an old acquaintance of my brothers. I have been kept very busy since my arrival in the office. We do a great deal of business here, having three vessels constantly employed on the coast, a new establishment called Fort Simpson has been lately built upon the coast by Mr. Ogden and is doing well. We have abundance to eat here, the Dr. has not yet killed any of the cattle, but we have such a variety of other good things as enables us to endure with calm philosophy the want of a roast of Beef. I expect our news from Europe will be very interesting. You have the advantage of us here in being much nearer the civilized world and you of course enjoy more frequent opportunities of communicating with your friends. I shall be very happy to hear from you at any time and I trust you will embrace an early opportunity of acquainting me where you are stationed and how you like this country after your return from civilized life. With best wishes for your welfare and that of your family,

I remain,
My dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
(Sgd) GEORGE T. ALLAN.

Trying to Best the Americans.

This letter was evidently written to John McLeod. It is marked private, evidently because of his expression of a desire to wrest the fur trade from the Americans.

Private.

Fort Vancouver 12th. March 1832

My dear Sir,

The time for the departure for our Express hence for York is fast approaching, & I cannot allow it depart, without sending a few lines in search of you, expressive for my good wishes for the welfare of yourself and family as well as the Governate, you have in view to take into your family; for the various edification of all its branches not even yourself excepted. On this account I would not in the least be surprised to hear that you have been long ere now deprived of that elegant piece of ingenuity your scalp, and every deservedly, if you have been playing hide and seek with this same Governante. But to be serious I hope you find matters in that part of the world going on smoothly & to your wish, & that the utmost harmony and good understanding prevails among you all. In this quarter matters are going on in the usual routine, the Returns of the Department are far superior to those of last year & there is but one evil to disturb the prosperous state of affairs, but that may be considered a serious one— The Fever— which committed great ravage amongst the natives during the last Summer, was still on our arrival here, sufficiently malignant to confine many of our people to their beds, and ever since symptoms of it occasionally appear amongst us, gaining ground as the warm weather sets in, & if something does not cast up, to diminish its virulence, I am afraid the consequence of its fury will be seriously felt. We must, however, hope for the best, and trust to Providence as a safeguard and an unerring guide to steer us clear of the shoals with which we are surrounded. The coasting trade is progressively improving—it turned out last summer about 3000 Beavers, exclusive of other valuable furs, but the loss it sustained in the death of Cap. Simpson will be seriously felt as his experience, coupled with his talents & abilities would give a decided favourable turn to our affairs in that quarter. He departed this life at Nass on the 2d. September of a liver complaint much lamented and regretted and whatever feelings might be entertained toward him during his career in the past of the country there is now but one of general sympathy for his untimely end. Our people appear to be firmly seated down at Nass—the natives are so far peaceable and well disposed and we have in view to extend our settlements along the coast, the best and most judicious plan we can adopt for the purpose of wresting that trade from the grasp of the Americans who have so far monopolized it and no doubt derived considerable gain therefrom. Trusting to hear from you fully and particularly and with best wishes for yourself and family I am My dear Sir, Yours Sincerely

(Sgd) D'N FINLAYSON.

Luck of the Fur Trade.

James Douglas, afterward famous as the Governor of Vancouver's Island, here shows how some posts thrive while others fail. He also tells of the river tragedies, which were most likely all too common in that day.

Vancouver, 12th March, 1832

Jno. McLeod, Esquire
Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that in compliance with your request, I now forward a box, to your address, containing a variety of prickly pears, which I hope will reach your distant quarter without injury. Our Columbia news are of a varied nature, a proportion of good, mixed up with evil, but on the whole I believe the good predominates at all events I am convinced that the best news are always the most gratifying and will on that account leave the most unpleasant to bring up the rear.

The Nass party left us in the early part of April, Mr. Ogden being the superintendent of the land operations, with Captain Simpson to command the shipping. They were greatly retarded on the passage by contrary winds and in consequence did not reach their destination before the 11th. May.

To their great surprise and not a little to their satisfaction the natives received them in the most friendly manner, nor have they as yet displayed any symptoms of a hostile or turbulent disposition. They are nevertheless keen hands at the bargain and make the most of competition among the traders. If they cannot do business with one party they make no ceremony in trying what can be done with the other. The Returns of the Coast are something like 3000 skins, upon which there is a loss of £1600.

Your friend Archy has been doing wonders at Fort Langley, he has collected about 2000 Beavers, and is not a little vain of his feat. Your old post Thompsons River seems determined to remain in the background. I believe its resources are exhausted, or perhaps Langley and Colville have a share of the trade which in your time it exclusively enjoyed.

This place as well as Nez Perces show an increase of returns, but I cannot say how the campaign will end in New Caledonia as we have had no late intelligence from that quarter. The Brigade on its return to the interior met with a serious accident between the Portage Neuf and Cascades, by which two men and nearly forty pieces of property were lost. Another poor man was drowned in Frasers River.

Captain Simpson died at Nass after a short illneses of 13 days of an inflammation of the lungs. Please present my respects to Charlotte, Miss Flora and the little ones. Believe me to be with much respect Your obt Servant,

(Sgd) JAMES DOUGLAS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon. By Frederick V. Holman, Director of the Oregon Pioneer Association and of the Oregon Historical Society. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clarke Company, 1907, 301 pp., $2.50 net.)

In writing this work the author has produced what has long been needed, namely, a narrative of the life of the benefactor and great overtowering figure of the Pacific Northwest. Himself the son of Oregon pioneers of 1846, Mr. Holman, as he explains in his preface, has undertaken a labor of love, for to quote his own words, "The one great theme of the Oregon pioneers was and still is Dr. McLoughlin and his humanity." The research which has resulted in the collection of the material here presented was undertaken originally in preparation for an address which was delivered on McLoughlin Day at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, and which even then had reached such proportions as to require considerable condensation for that occasion. Since that time the work has been rewritten, and in its present form it constitutes a valuable historical biography. Appended to the narrative account are a considerable number of illustrative documents of interest, not only for the light they throw on the life of McLoughlin, but on conditions and events in early Northwest Coast history as well.

The life of Dr. McLoughlin is interwoven with the history of the old Oregon country from his arrival at the mouth of the Columbia in 1824 to his death at Oregon City in 1857. As chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company, stationed at Vancouver, for years he directed the activities of practically the only persons of European blood in the region, and was thus actually the governor of an empire. The occupation of the region by his company under the treaties of 1818 and 1827 between Great Britain and the United States could rest only on economic supremacy, since by those treaties equal rights in the region were assured to the citizens and subjects of both powers. Mr. Holman shows very clearly how McLoughlin, from the beginning, recognized this fact, and how he understood better than anyone else on the Coast that his sway to the south of the Columbia at least must be but temporary since so much of the Coast was sure to go to the United States at the final settlement of the boundary dispute. The despotic power which he exercised within this whole region forms an interesting part of the work which the author

has ably treated. One can but feel after reading these pages that the exercise by Dr. McLoughlin of power which in other hands would have been most dangerous, and the effective assumption by him of extra judicial authority in the punishment of Indian criminals only reveal the greatness of a character which could command the respect and obedience of thousands of savages, and thus protect the lives and the property under his care. As proofs of Mr. Holman's thesis that the rule of McLoughlin was a "beneficient" despotism, his suppression of the liquor traffic among whites as well as Indians, and his stern reproof of the redmen when they uttered threats against those whose prosperity meant his ruin, are convincing.

But it is the recital of McLoughlin's treatment of the immigrants from the States which forms the most striking part of the work. The settlement of the country not only meant the end of the fur trade, but it meant the supremacy of the United States, to which these immigrants owed their allegiance. Yet a loyal British subject, the director of the activities of a British fur-trading corporation, was so far moved by a feeling of compassion for the destitute Americans who had crossed the plains and the mountains, that in violation of the rules of his company he advanced them supplies on credit that they might establish and support themselves in the Coast region. It is pathetic to read how he was not only defrauded by some of those whom he had thus befriended, but was reprimanded by the officials of his company, and forced to resign a twelve-thousand-dollar position to end his days almost in want. One feels a satisfaction in reading the tributes of prominent pioneers in later days showing that they appreciated the true value of the service rendered them, and strove to gain for McLoughlin a recognition of his goodness of heart and his actual right to be called, as Mr. Holman has called him, "The Father of Oregon."

A considerable part of the biography is given over to an account of the steps through which Dr. McLoughlin, through practical politics, backed by sectional and sectarian prejudice, was deprived of the land claims at Oregon City which he had intended to be the support of his later years and of his family after his own decease. Many will doubtless disagree with Mr. Holman in his contention that no county should bear the name of Samuel R. Thurston, Oregon's first Territorial Delegate to Congress, who was responsible for the clause in the Donation Land Law of 1850 which thus dispossessed McLoughlin, desiring, not-

withstanding his faults and his mistakes still to perpetuate the memory of the first representative in Washington of the Pacific Northwest. But all will agree to the proposition that, both in Oregon and in Washington, a county should bear the name of the good old doctor, and that the failure thus to use his name in the States he aided in founding is a species of ingratitude which should not be suffered.

Incidentally it should be remarked that Mr. Holman is one of the writers who give to Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor the credit due her for the actual authorship of the histories of Oregon and Washington which bear upon the title page the name of Hubert Howe Bancroft.

WILLIAM A. MORRIS.

The Brothers' War. By John C. Reed. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1905, pp. xviii., 456.)

The Brothers' War is the story of the causes of the Civil War and a discussion of some of the results by a well-informed Georgia lawyer who played a soldiers' part in that great struggle. The author was twenty-five years old when the war broke out, he served from Manassas to Appomattox, led a section of the Ku Klux Klan, played a prominent part in the overthrow of negro domination, and now rejoices in a united nation and the overthrow of slavery.

The author clearly sees the cause of the war in the growing nationalities of the two sections. The North, based on free labor, demanded that the Territories be free, and the South, with its economic system of plantations worked by slaves, demanded with equal emphasis that slavery be allowed to spread to the new Territories of the South and West. Three chapters are devoted to the antagonism of free labor and slave labor and the nationalization of the South and North, and the argument is well handled and convincingly presented.

Chapter VI. deals with the abolitionists and fire-eaters, who are looked upon as the products of the clashing nationalities. The economic interests of the North were against slavery extension, while those of the South demanded the extension of slavery. Opposition to the demands of each section by the other brought forth two classes of hotspurs. No mention is made of the humanitarian wave that swept over Europe and America in the early thirties, and consequently the rise of the abolitionist is treated as a purely economic outgrowth.

train and elevate the average negro, while the exceptional one is at the industrial school or college, or studying for a profession; something which will check the prevalent reversion away from monogamic family life, and stimulate that life to develop steadily; something also that will impart to this entire mass permanent and strengthening in pulse to better its condition" (412). And finally, in order to give time for this something to take effect, the negroes should be given a State in the Union to themselves.

One note of weakness runs through the whole book, viz., an attempt to explain historical effects by reference to the will of the "fates," "fairies," "directors." Webster was designed by Providence to defend the Union, Providence arranged for the deaths of Adams and Jefferson on the same day that Webster might find a fit subject for his oration, "follow me while I try to show what the directors did in preparation for and in conduct of the brothers' war," * * * the directors induced Toombs to drink too much at a dinner in order that Davis might be President, and much more of the same order. Historical explanations should be given where possible and the balance left to the reader. Aside from this last defect the book is well done and will amply repay careful reading.

EDWARD McMAHON.

Brief Notes.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has issued a carefully indexed volume of 200 pages, which contains a "Descriptive List of Manuscript Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Together With Reports on Other Collections of Manuscript Material for American History in Adjacent States."

An article on the "Financial History of Oregon," which Prof. F. G. Young contributes to the "Quarterly of The Oregon Historical Society" for December, is a scholarly piece of research which was prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Institution.

The fourth number of volume IV. of the "University of California Publications" is a monograph of 84 pages, written by A. L. Kroeber, and deals with "Indian Myths of South Central California."

"A History of the American Whale Fishery," by Walter S. Towner, has appeared as number 20 in the series in Political Economy and Public Law of the "Publications of the University of Pennsylvania." It deals with the origin, progress and decline

Calhoun, Webster, Toombs and Davis are each given a chapter. That on Calhoun deals with him as the father of nullification, and Toombs is treated as his successor, and the real leader of the South in secession. The author has done a good deal of work on the life of Toombs, whom he considers the "Webster of the South" and the equal of Calhoun, but his chapter suffers because of the great amount of material he presents in small space. The author seems to feel that he is not convincing the reader, and time after time drops the thread of his narrative to enlarge on the greatness of Toombs. Less anxiety on the author's part and a more careful presentation of material would have been more effective.

Davis is described as a dignified man of rather mediocre ability, much loved by the South, and entirely mistaken as to his military ability. Webster was the greatest orator and lawyer of the North and deserves eternal glory for his eulogy of and efforts on behalf of the Union. His argument in the Dartmouth College case and in Gibbons vs. Ogden are viewed from new angles. Webster's change of attitude, as shown in his speech of March 7, 1850, is, the author thinks, the result of Calhoun's demolition of the underlying principles of his earlier speeches in which he undertook to show that a State could not secede from the Union. Whether or not the author's view is the correct one it certainly deserves careful consideration. Webster's greatest speech was his reply to Hayne, and his greatest work his efforts for the Union.

The strongest chapter in the book, in the reviewer's opinion, is the one discussing Uncle Tom's Cabin. Everyone who has read that famous book should read this chapter.

The last two chapters deal with the race question and are well worth reading. In brief, the author argues that slavery was a curse to the whites of the South and a blessing to the negroes. Since the war the negroes have split into two great classes, an upper, made up of three to five per cent. of the negroes, and a lower, including the balance. The upper class, nearly all of whom have white blood in their veins, is pushing into the trades and professions and making marked progress. The larger class, less capable, shiftless, unwilling to work, is coming into the keenest kind of competition with poor whites and emigrants, and apparently doomed to destruction through the operation of economic and criminal laws.

"To solve this problem something must be found which will

of the American whaling industry and gives attention to apparatus used in whaling and whale products in commerce.

"The First Religious Newspaper" is the title of the leading article in the journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society for June, 1907.

James Newton Baskett has contributed to the January issue of the quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association a "Study of the Route of Cabeza de Vaca."

"Provisional Report on a Course of Study in History" is the title of a pamphlet issued by the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association. It is a suggestive outline for a course of study in history for the sixth, seventh and eighth grades.

The leading article in "The Iowa Journal of History and Politics" for July is the concluding one in the series "Federal and State Aid to Education in Iowa," by Prof. Hugh S. Buffum of the University of Iowa. The same issue contains "A Bibliography of Iowa State Publications for 1904 and 1905," prepared by T. J. Fitzpatrick of the Iowa State Historical Society.

NEWS DEPARTMENT.

Honoring Doctor John McLoughlin's Memory.

Oregon City witnessed an important and interesting ceremony, culminating on Sunday, 6 October, 1907. The occasion was the dedication there of the McLoughlin Institute, which has grown out of the St. John's Parochial and High School. Reverend Father A. Hillebrand is the spirit of the enterprise that has brought this event to fruition. Oregon City was the last home of McLoughlin, as it is also his burial place. Many distinguished guests were present on this occasion, not least of whom was Mrs. M. L. Myrick, the favorite granddaughter of McLoughlin. Archibishop Christie preached the sermon and formally blessed and dedicated the institute. Hon. W. D. Fenton, President of the Oregon Historical Society, State Senator Joseph E. Hedges, representing Governor Chamberlain, and others, made addresses, but the principal address was made by Frederick V. Holman, of Portland, who has recently published a very acceptable history of McLoughlin. He calls the good old Doctor the "Father of Oregon," and there is now a general willingness to concede that affectionate title. An idea of Mr. Holman's attitude toward his hero may be gathered from the closing sentence of his address at Oregon City, as follows:

"To this Noble Man, to this Great White Chief, to this Good Old Doctor, to this Savior of the Oregon Pioneers, to this great Humanitarian—the Father of Oregon—be honor and praise for all time."

Encouragement for the Quarterly.

Upon the completion of the first volume of The Washington Historical Quarterly it is pleasant to reflect on the many kind words received from many parts of the United States. People who are working along similar lines in other fields have been exceedingly generous in their praise. Cordial approval has also come from many earnest and thoughtful readers throughout the Pacific Northwest. The best publishers are beginning to send their works on history for review. One of the best indications

of approval, however, is the promptness with which other societies have begun an exchange of publications. These are as follows:

American Antiquarian Society.
Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.
Bulletin of Bibliography and Magazine Subject Index.
Illinois Historical Collections.
Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History.
Annals of Iowa.
The Iowa Journal of History and Politics.
Iowa Biographical Series.
Kansas Biennial Report of History.
Register of Kentucky.
Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Missouri Historical Review.
Missouri Historical Society Collections.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
New Hampshire Genealogical Record.
Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society.
Collections of the North Dakota Historical Society.
The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.
Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.
Report of the Oklahoma Historical Society.
"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly.
Reports of the State Historical Society of South Dakota.
Publications of the Southern Historical Association.
Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association.
Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.
The Wisconsin Archaeologist.
Reports of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.
University of California's Publications on American Archaeology and Ethnology.

The Library of Congress has asked for the Quarterly and sends documents in exchange. Other societies have signified a desire to exchange.

All these publications are deposited in the library of the State University of Washington, where they will prove of the greatest value.

New Worker in the Field.

William A. Morris is an Oregonian who was educated at Stanford University and then took graduate work at Harvard for his Doctor of Philosophy degree. After that he made a trip for study in England and in September reported at the University of Washington for work as an assistant professor. He is a specialist in mediaeval history, but has great love for the history of the Pacific Northwest. For this reason the Quarterly will be sure to have some of his talent at its disposal.

A Correction.

In the July Quarterly was published an article on Jesse Applegate. The material as it came into the editor's hands was in the form of a clipping from a local McMinnville (Oregon) paper. There was not time for the proof to be submitted to the author, and so Professor Joseph Schafer asks that the following be published:

Page 217, paragraph 3, line 5, create, read created; par. 4, 1.2, for those read for of those; p. 218, par. 2, l. 3, square read spare; p. 219, par. 2, 1.8, no definite read little detailed; p. 220, par. 2, 1.7, or read to; par. 3, 1.7, statesman read statemen; p. 221, par. 3, 1.2, Milborn read Milburn; p. 225, par. 5, 1.1, Warren read Warre; p. 226, par. 1, 1.4, a number read the number; ( ) read [ ]; 1.5, contract ( ) read compact [ ]; p. 227, par. 3, 1.2, orders read others; par. 4, 1.9, once as read once more as; 1.10, 1850 read 1849; p. 229, par. 1, 1.6, for the year 1789 read from the year 1789; 1.9, insert and before Bancroft; p. 231, par. 2, 1.4, States read status; 1.8, of the nation read to the nation; State's read states; p. 232, par. 2, 1.6, be to read best; 1.9, ( ) read [ ].

Three Recent Addresses.

Honorable John P. Hartman has rendered a good service to readers and students of the Northwest by causing to be published his address at the ground-breaking ceremonies of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and also his address delivered in Spokane in January, 1907. These two addresses contain a large quantity of information pertaining to this region, which was compiled with evident care as well as much labor. The third address was also one of the exposition numbers. It was by

Honorable Henry Alberts McLean, President of the Washington State Commission for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. This graceful little pamphlet is well worth saving.

Descendant of Prescott.

Mr. C. P. Bissett, Right of Way and Tax Agent for the Union Pacific Railroad Company, with offices in the Burke Building, Seattle, is a great-grandson of William H. Prescott, the famous American historian. Though very deeply occupied with the work of the company he represents, Mr. Bissett has a real love for history. He has a private library of five thousand volumes devoted to Americana and makes a specialty of works on Lincoln. One can see the evidence of this inherited taste on entering his private office, where the walls are attractive with beautiful portraits of Lincoln and Webster.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

BY GEORGE WILKES.

[Continued from the Last Issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

PART II.

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the United States Title.

THE OLD SPANISH CLAIMS.*

Up to the year 1803, the western boundary of the United States was the River Mississippi, which shut from our possession the vast region known by the name of Louisiana, now comprising Iowa, Missouri, Missouri Territory, Indian Territory, Arkansas and the small portion at its southern extremity which still retains the former name of all. This immense country, stretching from British America on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and spreading breadthwise from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, was originally owned by France, who obtained her title to it through the discovery of the mouth of the great stream which drains it, by two of her missionaries, in 1663, and by subsequent settlements under La Sale and others. In 1763, France ceded Louisiana to Spain. In 1800 Spain ceded it back again to France, and in 1803 it was purchased from France by the United States for the sum of $15,000,000. As soon as this purchase was made, the importance of Oregon as a Pacific gate to our possessions, became at once apparent, and Jefferson, under the direction of Congress, commissioned Captains Lewis and Clark "to explore the river Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, to cross the Rocky Mountains and trace to its termination in the Pacific some stream, whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado or any other, which might

*Though it is hardly necessary to mention to the reader in this stage of our examination, that the United States purchased from Spain, in 1819, all the right devolving to her on the North West coast above 42 deg. north latitude by virtue of her discoveries and settlements, it will do no harm to direct him to bear in mind that in making out *her* title, we of consequence establish our own.

offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purposes of commerce." In 1805 these officers and their men crossed the mountains, and descending into Oregon, discovered a number of streams flowing westward, which, upon examination, were found to disembogue into the Columbia or some of its huge branches, whose comprehensive arms embrace within their span the 42d and 53d parallels, and roll their silver bands from the mountains to the sea. On the 15th of November they reached its mouth, and building a fort which they called "Fort Catslop," they spent the winter there. In the spring of 1806 (March 13th), having minutely explored the surrounding country, the party set out on their return, and after proceeding some distance up the stream, parted company; the one to explore the region north, and the other the country south. They met in the month of August following, at the junction of the Yellowstone and the Missouri Rivers, on the eastern side of the mountains. Thus we find that after having discovered the mouth of the Columbia in 1792, we explore the greater portion of the territory drained by it in 1805, build a fort at its mouth in November of that year, and thus take the actual possession "soon after," which is the positive condition of the principles of international law previously quoted.

This being a difficult circumstance to overcome, the British government were puzzled for a time how to rebut or to offset it; but their natural fertility of resource did not leave them long at a loss, and resorting to their old principle that bold assertion is as good as timid proof, they affirmed—that "at least in the same or subsequent years (1805-6) Mr. Thompson, an agent of the North West Company, had established posts among the Flathead or Kootanie tribes (near the 56th° of latitude) and that it was from this point he hastened down in 1811 to ascertain the nature of the American establishment at the mouth of the Columbia River."

This is a part of the celebrated diplomatic Statement of 1826, and from its definite and satisfactory character, is worthy of taking place beside the claims of Vancouver and Meares.

The accounts given by Lewis and Clark on the return of their expedition, attracted the attention of commercial men, and John Jacob Astor, an opulent merchant of New York, who was then engaged in the fur trade on the Upper Missouri, conceived the foundation of a company, whose efforts should be specially confined to the Coast of this region. Before his plans were con-

summated, however, the Missouri Company, another American association, established a post beyond the Rocky Mountains on the headwaters of the southern branch of the Columbia in 1808, but it was abandoned in 1810 from a difficulty, through the enmity of the neighboring savages, of obtaining regular supply of food.

In 1809 Mr. Astor had completed his arrangements, and the Pacific Fur Company by his exertions assumed a definite existence. In that year the ship Enterprise was sent into the North Pacific "to make preparatory researches and inquiries in the scenes of the new company's operations," and in 1810 two parties were formed, one to cross the continent under the conduct of W. P. Hunt, the chief agent, and the other to proceed on the ship Tonquin by sea. In March, 1811, the ship arrived at the mouth of the Columbia, and the colonists immediately selecting a spot, erected a factory and a fort, and in honor of the patron of the enterprise, called the establishment Astoria. By some means, the Mr. Thompson who is spoken of in the Statement alluded to, heard at his station on Fraser's Lake (between latitude 54° 55′) of this new settlement, and gathering together a party, posted in hot haste down the northern branch of the Columbia, building huts, hoisting flags and bestowing names by way of taking possession as they passed along. They reached Astoria a little too late, for on arriving there in July, they found the banner of the States waving over a fort—they found factories erected, farms laid out, and the contented colonists eating of the produce of their already flourishing gardens. They were, therefore, obliged most reluctantly to retrace their steps northward, after receiving the unwelcome information that the posts of which they had pretended to take possession on their way down had most of them been visited five years before by officers of the United States.

In the spring of 1812, the other party of emigrants under Mr. Hunt, completed their journey across the continent, and arrived safely at the settlement among their brother traders. A few days after this event, the ship Beaver arrived from New York, with still further reinforcements and supplies, and it was decided that Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, should sail in her in charge of an expedition to the northern coasts, the affairs of the factory being entrusted (unfortunately as will be seen) to the charge of McDougal, one of the Scotchmen who had formerly been in the service of the North West Company. During the

absence of Mr. Hunt, the news of the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain reached Astoria, and created no small degree of uneasiness in the minds of the American members of the company, for they at once saw the difficulties this would lead to between themselves and their British associates. This information was received in January from New York, and in June following an agent of the North West Company arrived from Canada, bringing news of the approach of a British naval force to take possession of the American settlement. The Scotchmen and Englishmen connected with the association received the report with ill concealed satisfaction, and several of them withdrew from the service at once for that of the rival company. Those who remained could scarcely be considered faithful, beyond the considerations of the pecuniary interests that were involved in the affair. Anxious consultations were held, in which the foreigners held a superior and controlling influence. This was the natural consequence of their position, for having been selected with a view to their superior knowledge of trading operations gained in a previous service with the North West Company, they held all the most responsible situations.

The latter proposed, in view of the approaching danger, to abandon the enterprise altogether, unless additional reinforcements and supplies should speedily arrive from New York to their assistance. This the Americans strenuously opposed, choosing rather to trust to the chances of their enemies not appearing, or in case they did, to risk the hazard of a struggle; but the resolution prevailed, and the minority of interests was bound to submit. At length Hunt arrived, but with all his efforts, was unable to change the determination of the Scottish partners, and knowing the impossibility of conducting the operations of the concern in case of their defection, he was obliged to submit to the arrangement. He, therefore, in pursuance of the decision set sail for the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of chartering some vessels to convey the furs then stored in the factory, and other properties of the company, to Canton. In the month following his departure, a deputation from the North West Company descended the river to Astoria, bringing the additional information that a British frigate having under her convoy a large armed ship belonging to the N. W. Company, was on her way to the Columbia with the intention of destroying everything American in that quarter. The communication of this news was accompanied by an offer on the part of the leader of the deputation to

purchase out the whole stock in trade, and other properties of the Pacific company; adding as an additional inducement, that they would engage, at a liberal rate of wages, all who might choose to enter their service, and agreed to send back to the United States all who wished to return. This whole measure had doubtless been secretly concocted by the Scotch partners of the Pacific Company, who, to effect it, had got Hunt out of the way, and the agents of the other party were proceeding exactly according to previously imparted directions. The proposal to employ while it looked like an emanation of generosity, was a most insidious piece of treachery to entice away the employes on whom the Pacific Company depended for existence, and in such a state of society as existed there, was deserving of the punishment of death. It, however, afforded the Scotchmen an opportunity to secede without an appearance of absolute defection, and softened the opposition of those who were not unwilling to return to a more congenial society in their own country. The transfer was accordingly made, and the Pacific Company lost its identity in the North West Association.

From the time of their first arrival in the territory to the date of this relinquishment, the Pacific Company had established four forts or trading posts, besides the main one at Astoria. These were Fort Okanegan, situated at the confluence of that river and the north branch of the Columbia—Spokane House, on the river of the same name, and a branch of the latter establishment pushed further west, among the Flathead and Kootanic tribes—a post on the Kooskooske, and one on the Wallamette River. All of these establishments were included in the transfer of Astoria.

This inglorious termination of the enterprise took place on the 16th October, 1813. It was principally brought about by a Scotchman, named Duncan McDougal, whom Hunt had unwisely left in command of the fort, and who was strongly suspected of having been bribed to his course by the rival company. At any rate, the arrangement squared with his feelings, and he made it subserve his interest.

On the 1st December, before the transfer was completed, the British sloop of war Raccoon arrived at Astoria, expecting a rich plunder by the capture of the magazines and treasures of the Pacific Company; but all she found for prize was the American flag still waving its glorious folds above the fort. This remained there, notwithstanding the existence of the Pacific Company had

ceased more than two months before; for the citizens of the United States who had belonged to it, insisted that this emblem of the Republic's sovereignty over the soil, formed no portion of the transfer to the English company.

The following account of the capture of Astoria, and the taking possession of the fort, by Ross Cox, who gathered his information on the spot, shortly after the events took place, will not only serve to throw some light upon the motive of McDougal's treachery, but will also corroborate our claims to the first settlement of that region:

"Captain Black," (the commander of the Raccoon,) "took possession of Astoria in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and rebaptised it by the name of Fort George. He also insisted on having an inventory taken of the valuable stock of furs and other property purchased from the American company, with a view to the adoption of ulterior proceedings in England for the recovery of the value from the North West Company; but he subsequently relinquished this idea, and we heard no more of his claims. The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia knew well that Great Britain and America were distinct nations, and that they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougal and Tavish, (the agent of the North West Company,) the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the Raccoon, which they quickly discovered to be one of King George's fighting ships, they repaired armed to the fort, and requested an audience of Mr. McDougal. He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance, and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Concomly, the principal chief of the Chenooks, (whose daughter McDougal had married,) thereupon addressed him in a long speech, in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors, and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves; and that as they (the Americans) were the first white men that settled in their country, and treated the Indians like good relations, they resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods, close to the wharf, from whence they would be able with their guns and arrows to shoot all the men that should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and rifles. This proposition was offered with an earnestness of manner that admitted no doubt of its sincerity; two armed boats from the Raccoon were approaching, and, had the people in the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man of them would have been destroyed by an invisible enemy. Mr. McDougal thanked them for their friendly offer; but added, that notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him

nor any of his people, and therefore requested them to throw by their war shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They at first seemed astonished at this answer; but, on assuring them in the most positive manner that he was under no apprehensions, they consented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterwards declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. McDougal's wishes; for when they observed Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bottle of port on the flag-staff, and hoist the British ensign, after changing the name of the fort, they remarked, that however much one might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves; and they were not convinced of their mistake until the sloop of war had departed without taking any prisoners."

It is not our intention to assert that McDougal should have accepted of this offer of the Indians against his own nation, but it proves that with such friends as the aborigines of the country, the settlement could never have been seriously distressed for supplies; and, therefore, that his representations, on which the resolution to abandon the place was based, were false. Had Mr. Hunt possessed those means of resistance, and been in McDougal's situation, the property of the company would not have been sold, and the flag upon the fort would never have been struck.

The war ended in 1814, and by the treaty of Ghent, signed on the 24th December, of that year, it was declared "that all territory, places, and possessions whatever, taken by either party from the other during, or after the war, should be restored without delay." In accordance with the provisions of this article, the President of the United States, in October, 1817, despatched the sloop of war Ontario, with Captain Biddle and J. B. Prevost as Commissioners to Astoria and they duly received the surrender of that place by the British authorities, on the 6th day of October, 1818.

In this same year a negotiation was carried on in London between the plenipotentiaries of the two governments, for the settlement of a northern boundary line,* which resulted in the establishment of the 49th parallel, from the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, as the dividing line between the British possessions and the territory of the States, leaving the portion beyond the Rocky Mountains, bordering on the Pacific, subject to the restrictions of the following article:

*See Appendix, No. 7.

"Art. 3. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its habors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present Convention, to the vessels, citizens and subjects of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of another power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and difficulties among themselves."

It is plain from the wording of this article that England relied very lightly upon the strength of her own claims to the territory in dispute; the concluding clause being a virtual acknowledgment of the superior rights of Spain, whose anger is carefully deprecated, by the assurance that neither party aspired to her title, but that "their only object" in making this arrangement in regard to the common privileges of navigation, fishing, etc., was to "avoid differences among themselves." It is not necessary to explain that while this arrangement goes to conclude the pretensions of its proposer it does not now in the slightest degree affect us. The whole aim of the manoeuvre is sufficiently transparent to those acquainted with the political relations existing between the courts of Madrid and St. James at the periods of its performance. Impoverished and feeble Spain was looked upon by Great Britain as a much less formidable opponent than the Republic which had just emerged triumphantly from a war with her upon her own element. Her object, therefore, was to preclude us at all risks. She would be satisfied if she could make her own invalid title balance ours, for then she would magnanimously propose a a joint relinquishment in favor of the third claimant whose cause she had so insidiously fortified.* After this it would not have been long, of course, before exhausted Spain would have been forced to redeem one of the deep involments incurred in the peninsula war, by turning the Northwest Coast over to her subtle and grasping creditor. It would appear that our ministers at London divined this motive in the course of the negotiation, for an immediate offer was made on our part to Spain, and that power, wisely concluding to sell rather than

*This opinion is strengthened by one of England's present offers of compromise which is, that both of us relinquish Oregon, for the common settlement of it for an independent nation, and also by her recently developed intrigues in relation to California and Texas.

to give away, closed with our overtures at once; and thus England's over-reaching diplomacy was skillfully turned against herself.

The negotiation with Spain on this subject terminated on the 22d of February, 1819, (four months after the treaty of 1818 of which the above article is a part,) in what is now known as the "Florida Treaty." By this treaty the United States purchased all Florida, and likewise all the territory belonging to the crown of Spain north of the 42d degree of latitude for the sum of five millions of dollars, in the shape of a release of that amount of claims held against her by our merchants, and of which the United States assumed the payment. This arrangement of course merged the Spanish title in our own,* and by thus removing the only possible conflicting claim, placed the latter upon a basis of indisputable validity.

The chief value, however, that we attach to this cession on the part of Spain, is for its complete subversion of the pretensions of England, on the principle of original discovery of points of the coast. Our own individual title to Oregon is in itself made complete to 53° by the single principle of international law, which confers the whole country drained by a river and its tributaries to the discoverer of its mouth. We recognized this principle in the purchase of the immense territory formerly comprehended under the name of Louisiana, and while we have paid a penalty of fifteen millions of dollars in vindication of its integrity, we have a peculiar right to the benefit of it when it runs in our favor.†

The treaty of 1818 expiring in 1828, the convention was renewed in 1826, but as before, no definite conclusion was arrived at, and the negotiation resulted in the following year just where it had begun, the provisions of the former treaty being indefinitely extended, subject only to the additional stipulation that either party desiring to abrogate it, might do so on giving twelve months' notice to the other.‡

From the period after the sale of the Pacific Fur Company to the North West Association, (now merged in the Hudson's Bay

*See Appendix No. 8.

† It may be captiously objected to this argument, that France derived her title from the cession of Spain in 1800, but it will be recollected that France originally acquired a title to the vast region watered by the Mississippi by the discovery of the mouth of that river by two French missionaries in 1663, and sustained it by subsequent exploration and settlement, which is our case exactly in regard to the Columbia. On this claim she held it for a hundred years, till by a treaty of policy in 1763, involving no question of validity of title, it was ceded to Spain, and by a similar arrangement, on similar considerations, it was in 1800 ceded back to France. Its sovereignty passed from hand to hand on the strength of the principle involved in the original title, and by virtue of that principle it came to us.

‡ See Appendix, No. 9.

Company,) and the consequent departure of most of the Americans, British subjects, consisting entirely of attaches of this latter body, acquired a preponderance in the territory, and by ingenious management of their wealth and power, continued for a time progressively to increase it. This circumstance has been very seriously brought forward by the supporters of the English title, as a new right to the territory they usurp; as if the tyranny their montsrous wealth had enabled them to exercise over every American citizen within the reach of their influence, gave them an additional right to outrage the government by a usurpation of its title.

There is nothing overstrained in these remarks; indeed, they but very inadequately express the outrageous means resorted to by these affiliated tyrants to crush every interest opposed to them. The following extract taken from the work of Thomas P. Farnham, a traveler of ability and character, will afford some notion of their operations and policy:

"Fort Hall was built by Captain Wyeth, of Boston, in 1832, for the purposes of trade with the Indians in its vicinity. He had taken goods into the lower part of the Territory to exchange for salmon. But competition soon drove him from his fisheries to this remote spot, where he hoped to be permitted to purchase furs of the Indians without being molested by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose nearest post was seven hundred miles away.

In this he was disappointed. In pursuance of the avowed doctrine of that company, that no others have a right to trade in the furs west of the Rocky Mountains, while the use of capital and their incomparable skill and perseverance can prevent it, they established a fort near him, preceded him, followed him everywhere, and cut the throat of his prosperity with such kindness and politeness, that Wyeth was induced to sell his whole interest, existent and prospective, in Oregon, to his generous but too indefatigable, skilful and powerful antagonists."

Mr. Farnham has written the word "generous" in good faith and honest Roman characters, as if he really thought it were generous in the H. B. Company to give Mr. Wyeth a price for his property, after forcing him to its sale by the basest means! But Mr. Farnham ate a most superlative dinner afterward at Fort Vancouver, and this may somewhat account for the tenderness of his construction.

While we are upon this subject we will furnish the reader with a further insight into the corporate economy and operations of this association, from the same author:

"A charter was granted by Charles II., in 1670, to certain British subjects associated under the name of 'The Hudson's Bay Company,' in virtue of which they were allowed the exclusive privilege of establishing trading factories on the Hudson's Bay and its tributary rivers. Soon after the grant, the company took possession of the territory, and enjoyed its trade without opposition till 1787; when was organized a powerful rival under the title of the 'North American Fur Company of Canada.' This company was chiefly composed of Canadian-born subjects—men whose native energy and thorough acquaintance with the Indian character, peculiarly qualified them for the dangers and hardships of a fur trader's life in the frozen regions of British America. Accordingly we soon find the Northwest outreaching in enterprise and commercial importance their less active neighbors of Hudson's Bay; and the jealousies naturally arising between parties so situated, leading to the most barbarous battles, and the sacking and burning of each other's posts. This state of things in 1819 arrested the attention of Parliament, and an act was passed in 1821 consolidating the two companies into one, under the title of 'The Hudson's Bay Company.'

"This association is now, under the operation of their charter, in sole possession of all that tract of country bounded north by the Northern Arctic Ocean; east by the Davis' Straits and the Atlantic Ocean; south and southwestwardly by the northern boundary of the Canadas and a line drawn through the center of Lake Superior; thence northwestwardly to the Lake of the Wood; thence west on the 49th parallel of north latitude to the Rocky Mountains, and along those mountains to the 54th parallel; thence westwardly on that line to a point nine marine leagues from the Pacific Ocean; and on the west by a line commencing at the last mentioned point, and running northwardly parallel to the Pacific Coast till it intersects the 141st parallel of longitude west from Greenwich, England, and thence due north to the Arctic Sea.

"They have also leased for twenty years, commencing in March, 1840, all of Russian America except the post of Sitka; the lease renewable at the pleasure of the H. B. C. They are also in possession of Oregon under treaty stipulation between Britain and the United States. Its stockholders are British capitalists, resident in Great Britain. From these are elected a board of managers, who hold their meetings and transact their business at 'The Hudson's Bay House,' in London. This board buys goods and ship them to their territory, sell the furs for which they are exchanged, and do all other business connected with the company's transactions, except the execution of their own orders, the actual business of collecting furs, in their territory. This duty is entrusted to a class of men who are called partners, but who, in fact, receive certain portions of the annual net profits of the company's business as a compensation for their services.

"These gentlemen are divided by their employers into different grades. The first of these is the governor-general of all the company's posts in North America. He resides at York Factory, on the west shore of Hudson's Bay. The second class are chief factors; the third, chief traders; the fourth, traders. Below these is another class, called clerks. These are usually younger members of respectable Scottish families. They are not directly interested in the company's profits, but receive an annual salary of £100, food, suitable clothing, and a body servant, during an apprenticeship of seven years. At the expiration of this term they are eligible to the traderships, factorships, etc., that may be vacated by death or retirement from the service. While waiting for advancement they are allowed from £80 to £120 per annum. The servants employed about their posts and in their journeyings are half-breed Iroquois and Canadian Frenchmen. These they enlist for five years, at wages varying from $68 to $80 per annum.

"An annual council, composed of the governor-general, chief factors and chief traders, is held at York Factory. Before this body are brought the reports of the trade of each district; propositions for new enterprises, and modifications of old ones; and all these and other matters deemed important, being acted upon, the proceedings had thereon and the reports from the several districts are forwarded to the Board of Directors in London, and subjected to its final order.

"This shrewd company never allow their territory to be overtrapped. If the annual return from any well trapped district be less in any year than formerly, they order a less number still to be taken, until the beaver and other fur-bearing animals have time to increase. The income of the company is thus rendered uniform, and their business perpetual.

"Some idea may be formed of the net profit of their business from the facts that the shares of the company's stock, which originally cost £100, are at 100 per cent. premium, and that the dividends range from ten per cent. upward, and this too while they are creating out of the net proceeds an immense reserve fund, to be expended in keeping other persons out of the trade.

"They also have two migratory trading and trapping establishments of fifty or sixty men each—the one traps and trades in Upper California; the other in the country lying west, south and east of Fort Hall. They also have a steam vessel heavily armed, which runs along the coast, and among its bays and inlets, for the twofold purpose of trading with the natives in places where they have no post, and of outbidding and outselling any American vessel that attempts to trade in those seas. They likewise have five sailing vessels, measuring from 100 to 500 tons burthen and armed with cannon, muskets, cutlasses, etc. These are employed a part of the year in various kinds of trade about the coast and the islands of the North Pacific, and the remainder of the time in bringing goods from London, and bearing back the furs for which they are exchanged.

"One of these ships arrives at Fort Vancouver in the spring of each year, laden with coarse woolens, cloths, baizes and blankets; hardware and cutlery; cotton cloths, calicoes and cotton handkerchiefs; tea, sugar, coffee and cocoa; rice, tobacco, soap, beads, guns, powder, lead, rum, wine, brandy, gin and playing cards; boots, shoes and ready-made clothing, etc.; also, every description of sea stores, canvas, cordage, paints, oils, chains and chain cables, anchors, etc. Having discharged these 'supplies,' it takes a cargo of lumber to the Sandwich Islands, or of flour and goods to the Russians at Sitka or Kamskatka; returns in August; receives the furs collected at Fort Vancouver, and sails again for England.

"The value of peltries annually collected in Oregon, by the Hudson Bay Company, is about $140,000 in the London or New York market. The prime cost of the goods exchanged for them is about $20,000. To this must be added the percentage of the officers as governors, factors, etc., the wages and food of about 400 men, the expense of shipping to bring supplies of goods and take back the returns of furs, and two years' interest on the investments. The company made arrangements in 1839 with the Russians at Sitka and other ports, about the Sea of Kamskatka, to supply them with flour and goods at fixed prices. And as they are opening large farms on the Cowelitz, the Umpqua and in other parts of the Territory, for the production of wheat for that market; and as they can afford to sell goods purchased in England under a contract of 50 years' standing, 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper than American merchants can, there seems a certainty that the Hudson's Bay Company will engross the entire trade of the North Pacific, as it has that of Oregon.

"Soon after the union of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies, the British Parliament passed an act extending the jurisdiction of the Canadian courts over the territories occupied by these fur-traders, whether it were 'owned' or 'claimed by Great Britain.' Under this act, certain gentlemen of the fur company were appointed justices of the peace, and empowered to entertain prosecutions for minor offenses, arrest and send to Canada criminals of a higher order, and try, render judgment and grant execution in civil suits were the amount in issue should not exceed £200; and in case of non-payment, to imprison the debtor at their own forts, or in the jails of Canada.

"And thus is shown that the trade, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction in Oregon are held by British subjects; that American citizens are deprived of their own commercial rights; that they are liable to be arrested on their own territory by officers of British courts, tried in the American domain by British judges, and imprisoned or hung according to the laws of the British Empire, for acts done within the territorial limits of the Republic."

We have here an example of the very liberal construction the British government have put upon the common right to "navi-

gate the bays, creeks and harbors of the coast." In defiance of a treaty expressly denying the arrogation of any right of sovereignty on the part of either of the high contracting parties over the other, it has seized upon the chief prerogatives, nay, the very essence of sovereignty itself, by the establishment of courts of judicature throughout the territory, and by the positive enforcement of its laws on all within it.

That this course justifies any extremity of counter action on our part, in the shape of immediate occupation, or otherwise, is plain to the judgment of any unbiased mind. Indeed, when we consider the inimical influences that have been unfairly brought to bear upon the interests of our citizens—withering their enterprise and paralyzing their energies—we can hardly restrain from advocating retaliatory proceedings to fulfill the measure of redress.*

Having traced, in regular detail, the progress of every important event connected with the discovery and settlement of the Northwest Coast and the Territory of Oregon, we may now take a brief and comprehensive view of the whole subject, for the purpose of measuring at a glance the aspect and merits of the entire question.

We find, then, that a piece of territory, comprising four hundred thousand square miles, and lying on the Northwest Coast between parallels 42° and 54° 40′ north, is claimed by Great Britain and the United States respectively.

We find that the English government advance international law in support of their claims, and base their pretensions upon the principles which confer title by discovery, and which bestow the possession and sovereignty of the whole region drained by a river and its tributaries, upon the discoverer of its mouth; and we find that they have nothing better to offer than the voyages of Drake and Cook to entitle them to the benefits of the first, and that they seek to secure the latter by the exploits of Meares and Vancouver!

The United States accept these propositions, rebutting all the flimsy pretensions by which they are sought to be sustained on the other side, by the Spanish title; and confirming its own, independent of both, on the exclusive merits of having first discov-

*We have learned by recent information from Oregon, that the American settlers beyond the Rocky mountains have resisted the exercise of British authority, and formed a local legislature of their own. If our citizens should be able to sustain their new position, it does not alter the nature of the above aggression. The oppressor is none the less deserving of condemnation because he is obliged to relinquish the victims of his wrong.

ered, first explored and first settled the territory in question. The conclusions are established in the order following:

First—We find that Spain, whose claims are ours by purchase, had explored the coast as high as latitude 43° north, nearly forty years previous to the arrival of Drake at the same point, and we find in a series of national expeditions she stretched that exploration to the 58th degree in 1775, three years previous to the arrival of Captain Cook, on whose assumed discovery of Nootka the English place their heaviest degree of reliance.

Second—We find that the impudent claim for **Meares**(!) of the discovery of the Columbia, because he looked for and could not find it, is subverted by the superior claim of Heceta, (if either exploit furnishes a claim,) who sailed through its bay three years before, asserted its existence, assigned its precise latitude, and laid it down upon the Spanish charts.

Third—We find that Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in the course of the years 1790 and 1791, discovered sounds, inlets and channels; entered rivers and circumnavigated islands along the whole line of the coast; that in 1792, he next discovered the mouth of the Columbia, and navigated it to the distance of over twenty miles inland before any other white man had ever seen it; and sorry are we to say, we also find that a mean and dishonorable attempt was made to rob him of the honor due to the daring exploit, by two British officers, who, though they sailed thither, months afterwards, with his charts for their guides, sought by a disgraceful quibble to appropriate his credit to themselves.

Fourth—We find that during the years 1796 and 1814, the trade and commerce of the North Pacific was carried on exclusively by our citizens, and that they rendered the geography of that region almost perfect by the numerous discoveries they made in ranging up and down its northwest shores.

Fifth—We find that the British reliance on the pretended concessions of the Spanish treaty of 1790 is forced and fallacious, for the war of 1796 annulled its imperfect stipulations, and their clinging to it has no other effect than to substantiate the value of our purchase.

Sixth—We find that having triumphantly rebutted the English claims on the score of **discovery**, we beat them likewise on the points of exploration and settlement, for in 1805-6, a scientific commission, appointed by our government, thoroughly explored the Oregon territory from the sources of the Columbia

to the sea, and were in full possession of it by settlement six months, or a year, before a British establishment was made, even as low as 55° north.

And thus, to conclude, we find that every condition imposed by justice, every formality required by international law, has been performed by us to consummate our right to Oregon; and while all our dealings in reference to the subject have been straightforward, and in good faith, we have been met with nothing on the part of England but arrogant assumption, low finesse and vulgar cheatery. No wrong has been too bold for their attempt, no resource too mean for their adoption, and the contempt that is in one moment excited by the unworthy fetch of a pretended discoverer, or the miserable subterfuge of a conspiracy of geographers, gives place in the next to indignation aroused at the unparalleled arrogation of a foreign corporation of sovereignty over the free citizens of our Republic.

If we have submitted to this long enough, it is surely time for us to say so. Right knows of no degrees; Justice acknowledges no relationship with policy; and we should reject the proffer of a compromise as unworthy of the dignity of our claims. The acceptance of a composition is at best but a submission to a portion of wrong, and the nation which takes but a share of its due; when it is strong enough to enforce the whole, is dishonored both in the eyes of its own people and of the world. Let us therefore settle this question as becomes us, and no longer stand in the humiliating position of negotiating with Great Britain, whether we shall have our own or no! We should be baffled no longer with the absurd pretensions of the Drakes, the Cooks, the Vancouvers and the Meares, those diplomatic John Does and Richard Roes, who are only introduced to confuse the question and to mislead its issues. We should disdain all compromises and refuse all proposals of arbitrament. Monarchs are no judges for republics. We should, in brief, reject the entertainment of any consideration short of the full and unconditional resumption of all Oregon, whenever such a policy shall be deemed by us to be necessary.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND GENERAL VIEW OF OREGON.

Its Islands.

Having satisfactorily established our title to Oregon, our next inquiry becomes, what it is, and how we may most readily and

completely avail ourselves of its advantages. We have already shown in the foregoing pages that Oregon is a vast country lying on the Pacific Ocean, stretching along the coast through twelve degrees and forty minutes of latitude, extending its eastern limits into the body of the Rocky mountains, and embracing within those boundaries an area of four hundred thousand square miles. Attached to this immense territory, and extending along the whole line of its coast from the Strait of Fuca to its northern limit, and even beyond that to the Arctic Sea, is a continuous chain of islands, known by the general name of the Northwest Archipelago, which in themselves can scarcely be regarded as less than a feature of secondary importance. The largest are all traversed by mountain ridges, in the direction of their greatest length, and the whole archipelago may be considered as a portion of the westermost chain of mountains, broken off from the mainland at the Strait of Fuca, and running through the sea, connecting those of Oregon on the south, with the range on the north, of which Mounts Fairweather and St. Elias are the most prominent peaks.

The first and chief of these islands is Quadra and Vancouver's. This extends along the coast from 48° 30′, in a northerly direction, for the space of one hundred and sixty miles, and forms, by its parallel course with the coast, (from which it is distant about twenty miles,) the celebrated arm of the sea called the Strait of Fuca. Its average width is about forty-five miles, and it contains a surface of about 15,000 square miles. The climate of this island is mild and salubrious, and large portions of its soil are arable and capable of advantageous cultivation. It has an abundance of fine harbors, which afford accommodations for vessels of any size. The chief of these is Nootka Sound, the Port Lorenzo of the Spaniards, a spacious and secure bay, running deep into the land, under parallels 49° 34′, and containing within itself many other harbors, affording most excellent anchorage.

A few miles south of Nootka we come to another large bay, called Clyoquot, in which we have seen that Captain Kendrick preferred to remain during the winter of 1789, to any other harbor on the coast. There is another, still further south, named Nittinat, which lies at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and is filled with an archipelago of little islands. The coasts of this island, and indeed the coasts of those above, abound with fine fish of various descriptions, among which the salmon predominate. In consequence of their fisheries, the islands are more numerously populated by the natives than the territory of the mainland.

The next island of significance is Washington, or Queen Charlotte's. It received the former title from Captain Gray, who circumnavigated it for the first time in the summer of 1789. It is triangular in its form, is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and contains four thousand square miles. After Gray's visit, it became the favorite resort of the American traders of the North

Pacific. Its climate and soil are represented by Captain Ingraham as being extremely well adapted for agricultural purposes, particularly those portions in the vicinity of a fine harbor in latitude 53° 3′ on its eastern coast, and at Port Estrada, or Hancock's River, on the north side.

The islands of the next importance below the southern cape of Prince of Wales' Island, (which is the point of our northern boundary line,) are Pitt's, Burke's, Dundas' and the Princess Royal groups. Most of these lie between Washington Island and the shore, and form a numerous archipelago, which renders the intervening navigation extremely tortuous and difficult. Between Washington and Vancouver's Island are a continuous line of others, of considerable size, lying closer to the land, and following with their eastern outlines almost every sinuosity of the continental shore. These latter groups are for the most part uninhabited, and are composed of granite and pudding stone, which appear to be the prevailing rock north of latitude forty-nine. They are generally destitute of fresh water, and having but few anchorages, the strong, intervening currents render navigation perplexed and dangerous. They are only resorted to by the natives in the spring and in the fall on account of their fisheries.

The Coast and Its Harbors.

The coast of Oregon from the forty-second parallel to the mouth of the Columbia pursues a northwardly course, and from that point trends with a slight and gradual westerly inclination to the Strait of Fuca. Its profile consists of a bold, high, wall-like shore of rock, only occasionally broken into gaps or depressions, where the rivers of the territory find their way into the sea. The first of these openings above the southern boundary line is the mouth of the Klamet. This is a stream of considerable size, issuing from the land in 42° 40′, and extending into it to a distance of 150 miles. It has two large tributaries, called by the unromantic titles of Shasty and Nasty Rivers, an error of taste which it is to be hoped the future "Alleghenians" who inhabit their fertile valleys will correct and reform. The bay of the Klamet is admissible only for vessels of very light draught; its whole valley is extremely fertile, and the country adjacent to the stream abounds with a myrtaceous tree, which, at the slightest agitation of the air, diffuses a fragrance that lends to it another feature of an earthly paradise. Between this and the Umpqua River, disemboguing in 33° 30′, are two other small streams, neither of which, however, afford a harbor available for commercial purposes.

The Umpqua River is a considerable stream, entering the land to the distance of a hundred miles. It has a tolerable harbor, navigable, however, only for vessels drawing eight feet of water, and its stream, thirty miles from the sea, is broken by rapids and falls. Its valley is blessed with its portion of the general fertility of the lower region of Oregon, and consists of

alternate groves of stupendous timber and rich arable plains. The Hudson's Bay Company have a fort at the mouth of the river, the site of which is the scene of a flourishing settlement. Five lesser streams find their way into the sea, at intervals, from this point to the mouth of the Columbia, and contribute their aid in fertilizing the extensive region lying between the coast and the parallel barrier running at the distance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles, known as the President's range of mountains.

The mouth of the Columbia is found at 46° 16′, but is only distinguishable from the sea by a slight and gradual inner curve in the shore. Like all the harbors former by the rivers on the sea coast, it is obstructed with extensive sandbars, formed by the deposits of the river on its meeting with the ocean, and, according to Lieutenant Wilkes, "its entrance, which has from four and a half to eight fathoms of water, is impracticable for two-thirds of the year, and the difficulty of leaving it is equally great." It is thought by some that these obstacles may be removed in time by artificial means, but it is an extremely doubtful question whether it can ever be made an available harbor for vessels of any draught.

Passing Cape Disappointment, the northern headland of the river's mouth, we sail forty miles further north, where we find a secure anchorage in Gray's Bay for vessels drawing ten feet of water; but this harbor is considered of little importance on account of the extensive sand flats, which usurp the greatest portion of its entire surface. From Gray's Bay to Cape Flattery, the southern point of the Strait of Fuca, but two streams, and those of but trifling significance, break the overhanging barrier of the coast.

We have now traversed the whole coast of Oregon lying immediately on the Pacific, and in its course of five hundred miles find but two places of refuge for vessels, (Gray's Bay and the mouth of the Columbia,) and even these are of but trifling importance in a commercial point of view. Indeed, all geographical authorities agree that none of the harbors on this portion of the coast can be deemed safe ports to enter.

The next branch of the coast demanding our attention is that which lies along the Strait of Fuca. This immense area of the sea cuts off the northward line of the coast at Cape Flattery, in latitude 48° 23′, and runs apparently into the land in a southeasterly direction for about a hundred and twenty miles. It then turns northwest by west, and following that direction for three hundred miles more, joins the sea again at Pintard's Sound. The southern portion of this strait varies from fifteen to thirty miles in width, and the coast of Oregon along its course is an exception in its maritime advantages to the portion immediately on the sea. It abounds with fine inland sounds, offering a secure anchorage to vessels of the heaviest draught, and there are no portions of the interior navigation which conceals a hidden danger. The straits can be entered in any wind, and the great rise and

fall of the tides offer facilities for building maritime establishments unsurpassed in any portion of the world. Here, whatever direction emigration may for the present take the commercial operations of the territory will eventually center, and the din of our naval arsenals will proclaim to the world the fulfillment of the prediction that

"The course of empire has westward found its way."

The most important branch of this strait is a spacious arm descending from its eastern extremity in a southerly direction into the land to the distance of one hundred miles. It is called Admiralty Inlet, and the lowermost portion of it is known as Puget's Sound. This inlet, like the other southern portions of the strait, is filled with splendid harbors, the southernmost of which has the peculiar advantage of being within but little more than three hundred miles of the navigable waters of the Missouri. Great quantities of bituminous coal have been found in its vicinity, and there are other peculiar advantages attached to the station which must eventually make it a point of the first importance. These circumstances have not escaped the watchful eyes of the Hudson's Bay Company, and they have already established a fort and a settlement there by way of securing possession of the point.* At the southeast end of Vancouver's Island there is a small archipelago of islands which, though well wooded, are generally destitute of fresh water. They are, consequently, for the most part uninhabited. The coast of the mainland along the northwestern course of the strait is cut up and penetrated by numerous inlets, called from their perpendicular sides and deep water canals. They afford no good harbors, and offer but few inducements to frequent them. One large river empties into the strait about latitude 49°, which pursues a northerly direction for several hundred miles. It is called the Tacoutche, or Fraser's River, and has a trading post named Fort Langley, situated near its mouth. The other portion of the coast to the north is much of the same character as that south of this river, on the strait. It is cut up by inlets and the numerous islands which line it, and the heavy fogs that are frequent in the region render it at all times difficult to approach or to navigate.

THE NATURAL DIVISION OF OREGON.

The Three Regions.

Oregon is divided into three distinct regions, by three separate mountain ranges, with an additional inferior chain, binding the extreme outline of the Pacific Coast.

Overlooking the rim upon the ocean edge, the first chain we

*The consideration of the maritime advantages of the southern coast of the Strait of Fuca and Puget's Sound, suggests a pretty forcible view of the remarkable liberality of Great Britain's offer of the Columbia as the line of compromise. This, while it secures to her every navigable harbor, does not leave us one.

come to is the Cascade Mountains, or as they are sometimes called the President's Range. They start below the forty-second parallel, and run on a line with the coast at a distance varying from 100 to 150 miles throughout the whole length of the territory, rising in many places to a height from 12,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea in separate cones. Their succession is so continuous as to almost interrupt the communication between the sections, except where the two great rivers, the Columbia and Fraser's, force a passage through; an achievement which they only accomplish by being torn into foam, plunged down precipices or compressed into deep and dismal gorges. This chain of mountains have obtained the title of the President's Range in consequence of their most elevated peaks having been named after the chief magistrates of the United States by a patriotic American traveler.

The stupendous line runs from Mount Jackson to Mount Tyler, and there is yet room among their gigantic cousins for several succeeding dignitaries. The idea which suggested their adaptation to our natural history was a happy one. Perpetual mementos in the archives of our nation, they form no perishable notes of heraldry for the contempt of a succeeding age, but basing their stupendous data upon the eternal earth, pierce with their awful grandeur the region of the clouds, to transcribe their records on the face of heaven. The first of them, Mount Jackson, commences the list in 41° 10′; Jefferson stands in 41° 30′; John Quincy Adams in 42° 10′; Madison in 43°; Monroe in 43° 10′; Adams in 45°; Washington (the Mount St. Helens of the English) in 46°; Van Bouren, northwest of Puget's Sound, in 48°; Harrison, east of the same, in 47½°, and Tyler in 49°. Of these Mount Jackson is the largest, and is said to rise above the level of the sea near twenty thousand feet. Washington, which is next in size, is estimated at 17,000 to 18,000. This is the most beautiful of all. It ascends in a perfect cone, and two-thirds of its height is covered with perpetual snow.*

The region of country lying between this range of mountains and the sea is known as **the first or lower region of Oregon.**

The Blue Mountains form the next division. They commence nearly in the center of Oregon, on parallel of longitude 43° west from Washington, and in 46° of latitude. They run southwesterly from this point for 200 miles in an irregular manner, occasionally interrupted, and shooting off in spurs to the south and west.

The region between this ridge and the President's Range is called **the second or middle region.**

Beyond the Blue Mountains and lying between them and the Rocky Mountains **is the high country or third region of Oregon.**

The general course of the Rocky Mountains is from south to southeast. They run south from 54° 46′ parallel to the coast (at a distance of 500 miles) for three hundred miles, and grad-

*The limit of perpetual snow for these mountains is, according to Lieutenant Wilkes, 6,500 feet from the level of the sea.

ually extend their distance from the sea by a continuous southeasterly course to over seven hundred at the 40th degree. In these mountains, and their offsets, rise the principal rivers which find their way into the Pacific to the west and the Gulf of Mexico on the east. Near the forty-second parallel is a remarkable depression in the chain called "the Southern Pass" which experience has proved affords a short and easy route for carriages from our states into the territory of Oregon. Above the 48th parallel, again, other passes are formed by the course of the rivers, from either side, which find their way in some places between the mountains. There are other ridges intersecting the face of this vast country, but they are principally offsets or spurs of the three main chains already described. The principal of these is the wind river cluster, on the east of the Rocky Mountains, from which flow many of the headwaters of the Missouri and the Yellowstone Rivers.

Climate and Characteristics of the Three Regions.

The third region or high country is a rocky, barren, broken country, traversed in all directions by stupendous mountain spurs on the peaks of which snow lies nearly all the year. It is from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and in consequence, the river flowing through it westward to the Columbia are broken at frequent intervals by rugged descent and rendered unnavigable almost throughout the whole of their course. There are but few arable spots in this whole section of territory, its level plains, except narrow strips in the immediate vicinity of the rivers, being covered with sand or gravel and being also generally volcanic in their character. The distinguishing features of the territory are its extreme dryness and the difference of its temperature between the day and the night. It seldom rains except during a few days in the spring and no moisture is deposited in dews. In addition to these discouraging features, the climate, from its enclosure between these snowy barriers, is extremely variable, a difference of fifty and sixty degrees taking place between sunrise and midday. The soil is moreover much impregnated with salts, springs of which abound in many places. It will be seen by reference to the journal which forms the latter portion of this work that some of these possess highly medicinal qualities, and from the beauty of their situation will doubtless become, before time is done, the resort of the fashionable population of Western America.

Notwithstanding all these unfavorable qualities, there are many small prairies within its mountains which, from their production of a nutritious bunchgrass, are well adapted for grazing purposes, and in despite of its changeable climate, stock is found to thrive well and to endure the severity of the winter without protection.

The second or middle region of Oregon, between the Blue and the President Ranges, is less elevated than the third, and conse-

quently all the stern extremities of the latter's climate and soil are proportionately modified. Its mean height is about a thousand feet above the level of the sea, and much of its surface is a rolling prairie country, with the exception of the portion above latitude 48°, which is very much broken by rivers and traverse mountain chains. It is consequently adapted only in sections to farming purposes. Plenty of game, however, is found in the forests of the country to compensate for its unfitness for agriculture. Below this parallel, and in the middle of the section, are extensive plains, admirably adapted to stock raising, from the perpetual verdure always overspreading them and from the salubrious climate that prevails throughout their neighborhood. Cattle thrive even better here than in the low country and there is no necessity for housing them at any time; neither need provender be laid in, the natural hay found always in abundance on the prairies being preferred by them to the fresh grass upon the bottoms. It is in this region the Indians raise their immense herds of horses, and here, whenever the territory shall be numerously settled, may be bred clouds of horsemen, who would not be exceeded by any light cavalry in the world.

The southern portion of this region as it advances to the boundary line becomes less favorable to the purposes of man, and loses its fertility by rolling into swelling sand hills, producing nothing but the wild wormwood, mixed with prickly pear, and a sparse sprinkling of short bunchgrass.

The first of lower region of Oregon is that which lies along the coast and extends westward to the line of the President's Range of mountains. The portion of this, lying north of the Columbia and between it and the Straits of Fuca, is a heavily timbered country covered with forests of trees of extraordinary size. It has, however, its spaces of prairie on which good pasturage is found, and it has also some fine arable land. This section is watered by four rivers, of which the Chickelis, disembogueing into the Columbia, and the Cowelitz, emptying into the sea at Gray's Harbor, are the most important. The forests of this portion of the lower region are its great feature. They consist of pines, firs, spruce, red and white oak, ash, arbutus, arbor vitae, cedar, poplar, maple, willow, cherry and yew, with so close and matted an undergrowth of hazel and other brambles as to render them almost impenetrable to the front of man. Most of the trees are of an enormous bulk, and they are studded so thick that they rise before the beholder like a stupendous and impregnable solidity, which declares futile all ordinary attempts to penetrate it. This astonishing exuberance is not confined alone to the timber of the section north of the Columbia, for we have an account of a fir growing at Astoria, eight miles from the ocean, on the southern bank of the Columbia, which measured forty-six feet in circumference at ten feet from the ground, ascended one hundred and fifty-three feet before giving off a branch, and was three hundred feet in its whole height. Another tree of the same species is said to be standing on the Umpqua,

the trunk of which is fifty-seven feet in circumference and two hundred and sixteen feet in length below its branches. Prime sound pines from two hundred to two hundred and eighty feet in height and from twenty to forty in circumference are by no means uncommon. The value of this spontaneous wealth has already been appreciated by the acute company who reign commercially predominant in this region, for already their untiring saw mills, plied by gangs of Sandwich Islanders and servile Iroquois, cut daily at Fort Vancouver alone thousands of feet of plank, which are transported regularly to the markets of the Pacific Islands.

But to return to that section of the lower region lying between the Columbia and the Straits of Fuca. The banks of the Cowelitz are generally bare of timber, but the soil in their immediate vicinity is for the most part poor. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, have a fine farm of 600 acres in its western valley, which in 1841 produced 7,000 bushels of wheat. The average produce is twenty bushels to the acre. They have also a saw and grist mill now in operation there, both of which find a market for their products in the Sandwich and other islands of Polynesia. Live stock do not succeed well on these farms, and this is owing to the absence of low prairie grounds near the river, and also to the extensive depredations of the wolves. The hilly portion of the country immediately around, though its soil is very good, is too heavily timbered to be available for agricultural purposes, and this is also the case with many portions of the level lands. There are, however, large tracts of fine prairie at intervals between, suitable for cultivation, and ready for the plough.

Proceeding northward, we came to Fort Nasqually, a fine harbor at the southern point of Puget's Sound. Here the Hudson's Bay Company have another fine settlement, and raise wheat (15 bushels to the acre), oats, peas, potatoes and make butter for the Russian settlements. On the islands of the Sound and on the upper sections of Admiralty Inlet, the Indians cultivate potatoes in great abundance. These vegetables are extremely fine and constitute a large portion of their food.

Having disposed of this section, we come now to that portion of the lowest region lying south of the Columbia, between the President's Range and the coast. This by universal agreement is admitted to be the finest portion of all Oregon. It is entered by the Wallamette River, about five miles below Vancouver, which stream extends into its bosom over two hundred miles. This river is navigable for steamboats and vessels of light draught for nearly forty miles, when you come to a falls—the invariable feature of the rivers of this territory. Above the falls are the principal settlements of Oregon. Here the American adventurers have principally established themselves, and by the contributions of the emigrations from the States their number is rapidly increasing. As these settlements are described with some particularity in the journal which concludes this work, we will omit a particular account of them in this place.

The fertile portion of the valley of the Willamette is about two hundred and fifty miles long, and averages about seventy in width, making in all a surface of more than 17,000 square miles of rich arable land. The soil is an unctuous, heavy, black loam, which yields to the producer a ready and profuse return for the slightest outlay of his labor. The climate is mild throughout the year, but the summer is warm and very dry. From April to October, while the sea breezes prevail, rain seldom falls in any part of Oregon. During the other months, and while the south winds blow, the rains are frequent and at times abundant.

In the valleys of the low country snow is seldom seen, and the ground is so rarely frozen that ploughing may generally be carried on the whole winter. In 1834 the Columbia was frozen over for thirteen days, but this was principally attributable to the accumulation of ice from above. "This country," says Wyeth, "is well calculated for wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, apples, potatoes and all the vegetables cultivated in the northern part of the Union. Indian corn does not succeed well, and is an unprofitable crop."

The following letter, recently received from Oregon, and giving an account of last year's crop, will serve to show the wonderful productiveness of this delightful region:*

"The harvest is just at hand, and such crops of wheat, barley, oats, peas and potatoes are seldom, if ever, to be seen in the States, that of wheat in particular—the stalks being in many instances as high as my head, the grains generally much larger—I would not much exaggerate to say they are as large again as those grown east of the mountains. The soil is good and the climate most superior, being mild the year round, and very healthy, more so than any country I have lived in the same length of time. Produce bears an excellent price—pork, 10 cents; beef, 6 cents; potatoes, 50 cents; wheat, $1 per bushel. These articles are purchased at the above prices with great avidity by the merchants for shipment generally to the Sandwich Islands and Russian settlements on this continent, and are paid for mostly in stores and groceries, the latter of which is the product of these islands, particularly sugar and coffee, of which abundant supplies are furnished. Wages for laborers are high—common hands are getting from one to two dollars per day, and mechanics from two to four dollars per day. It is with difficulty men can be procured at these prices, so easily can they do better on their farms. The plains are a perpetual meadow, furnishing two complete new crops in a year, spring and fall, the latter remaining green through the winter. Beef is killed from the grass at any season of the year. If you have any enterprise left, or if your neighbors have any, here is the place for them."

Of this valley Lieutenant Wilkes says, "the wheat yields thirty-five or forty bushels for one bushel sown; or from twenty to thirty to the acre. Its quality is superior to that grown in the

*The above is an extract of a letter from General McCarver, who is at present the Speaker of the Lower House of Oregon.

United States, and its weight is nearly four pounds to the bushel heavier. The above is the yield of the new land; but it is believed will greatly exceed this after the third crop, when the land has been broken up and well tilled. In comparison to our own country, I would say that the labor necessary to acquire wealth or subsistence is in proportion of one to three; or, in other words, a man must work through the year three times as much in the United States to gain the same competency. The care of stock, which occupies so much time with us, requires no attention here, and on the increase alone a man might find support."

South of the valley of the Willamette we come to that of the Umpqua, in which is found large prairies of unsurpassable arable land, though the vicinage of the river is chiefly remarkable for its gigantic pine timber. Some idea of the extraordinary size of its forest trees may be obtained from the fact that their seed cones are sometimes more than a foot in length. Below the Umpqua we next arrive at the country watered by the Tootootutna, or Rogues River, and beyond that to the volumptuous valley of the Klamet. These lower portions of the first region are thought by many to be the paradise of the whole territory, excelling in richness of soil and voluptuousness of climate, even the celebrated valley of the Willamette. Of this opinion is Lieutenant Wilkes, to whose exertions and researches we are indebted for most of our accurate geographical knowledge of the western portion of Oregon. Indeed, probability seems to be in favor of regarding the valleys of the Klamet, Tootootutna and the Umpqua as the gardens of the West, and the cause of the preference of the northern portions is to be attributed mostly to the readier access afforded to them by the avenue of the Columbia. Population, however, is already gradually encroaching further and further south, and but few years will elapse before coasters will be running down to the mouths of these three rivers for their agricultural products.

The principal settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company is situated at Vancouver, on the Columbia; a point ninety miles from its mouth. At this station, the main branch of foreign commerce is carried on, and from it the chief exports in the way of pine plank, the grains, butter, etc., is made to the Russian settlements and to the islands of the ocean. They have another farm upon the Fallatry plains, west of the Willamette and about ten miles from Vancouver, which is also well stocked and in productive cultivation.

Before concluding our description of this portion of Oregon it may be well to state that the continual influx of emigrants from the States at the station of the Willamette, and the occasional conflictions of interest, rendered it necessary, in the absence of protection from the laws of the Republic, that the American settlers should establish a territorial government for themselves. They have accordingly proceeded to constitute two

legislative bodies, to a appoint a chief justice and make the necessary ministerial officers to enforce his decisions.

The two houses meet at stated periods in the year for the transaction of all the necessary business of the little body politic, and the degree of importance which the new Legislature has already obtained may be estimated by the fact that the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have accorded their acknowledgment of its powers by applying through the chief governor of all the stations in the Territory, (Doctor McLaughlin) for a charter for a canal around the Willamette Falls. The exclusive right was granted to him for twenty years on the condition that he should, in two years, construct a canal around them sufficient for the passage of boats thirteen feet in width.

This recognition of the authority of the legislative confederacy would, however, be a politic course in the resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, even though he should be ever so averse to it; for such recognition would not affect the interest of his association in case it were overthrown by his own government, and it would afford him, meanwhile, an opportunity for the quiet pursuit of his plans. It is but just, however, to bear in mind that the jurisdiction exercised by the company over all the citizens in the territory previous to this legislative convention was not their own arrogation, but the investiture of the British government for its own special objects, and it is no less just to say that this power was exercised by the gentleman above-named, during his rule, with a temperance and fairness but seldom found in those who have no immediate superior to account to.

The letter that brings us this latter information also tells us the Doctor has already commenced his work with a large number of hands, and that there is no doubt of his perfect ability to complete it within the time named. He was likewise constructing at the date of this information (last August) a large flouring mill with four run of burs, which was to be ready for business last fall.

The Rivers.

Having completed a description of the general characteristics of the three regions of Oregon, there remains but one feature of its geography unfinished, and as that extends for the most part continuously from region to region, it could not be properly embraced in the particular account of any one. We allude to the course and characteristics of the Columbia River and its tributaries.

The northern branch of the Columbia River rises in latitude 50° north and 116′ west (from Greenwich) thence it pursues a northern route to McGillivary's pass in the Rocky Mountains. There it meets the Canoe River and by that tributary ascends northwesterly for eighty miles more. At the boat encampment at the pass, another stream also joins it through the mountains, and here the Columbia is 3,600 feet above the level of the sea.

It now turns south, having some obstructions to its safe navigation in the way of rapids, receiving many tributaries in its course to Colville, among which the Beaver, Salmon, Flatbow and Clarke's rivers from the east, and the Colville and two smaller tributaries, higher up, from the west, are the chief.

This great river is bounded thus far on its course by a range of high, well-wooded mountains, and in places expands into a line of lakes before it reaches Colville, where it is 2,049 feet above the level of the sea, having a fall of 550 feet in 220 miles.

Fort Colville stands in a plain of 2,000 or 3,000 acres. There the Hudson's Bay Company have a considerable settlement and a farm under cultivation, producing from 3,000 to 4,000 bushels of different grains, with which many of their other forts are supplies. On Clarke's River the company have another post called Flathead House, situated in a rich and beautiful country spreading westward to the bases of the Rocky Mountains. On the Flatbow also the company have a post, named Fort Kootanie.

From Fort Colville the Columbia trends westward for about sixty miles and then receives the Spokane from the south. This river rises in the lake of the Pointed Heart, which lies in the bosom of extensive plains of the same name. It pursues a northwesterly course for about 200 miles, and then empties into the Columbia. Its valley, according to Mr. Spaulding, an American missionary, who surveyed it, may be extensively used as a grazing district; but its agricultural capabilities are limited. The chief features of its region are (like those of the upper country, through which we have already traced the Columbia and its tributaries,) extensive forests of timber and wide sandy plains intersected by bold and high mountains.

From the Spokane, the Columbia continues its westerly course for sixty miles, receiving several smaller streams, until it comes to the Okanagan, a river finding its source in a line of lakes to the north, and affording boat and canoe navigation to a considerable extent up its course. On the east side of this river, and near its junction with the Columbia, the company have another station called Fort Okanagan. Though the country bordering on the Okanagan is generally worthless this settlement is situated among a number of small but rich arable plains.

After passing the Okanagan, the Columbia takes a southward turn and runs in that direction for 160 miles to Walla Walla, receiving in its course the Piscous, the Ekama and Entyatecoom from the west, and lastly the Saptin or Lewis River from the south. From this point the part of the Columbia which we have traced, though obstructed by rapids (is navigable for canoes to the **Boat Encampment,** a distance of 500 miles to the north. The Saptin takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains, passes through the Blue, and reaches the Columbia after having pursued a northwesterly direction for 520 miles. It brings a large volume of water to the latter stream, but in consequence of its extensive and numerous rapids it is not navigable even for canoes except

in reaches. This circumstance is to be deplored, as its course is the line of route for the emigration of the States. It receives a large number of tributaries, of which the Kooskooske and Salmon are the chief. Our previous account of the arid and volcanic character of this region obviates the necessity of a further description here. There is a trading station upon the Saptin near the southern boundary line, called Fort Hall, and one also near its junction with the Columbia, called Fort Walla Walla. The Columbia at Walla Walla is 1,284 feet above the level of the sea and about 3,500 feet wide. It now takes its last turn to the westward, pursuing a rapid course of eighty miles to the Cascades, and receiving the Umatilla, Quisnel's, John Day's and Chute Rivers from the south, and Cathlatate's from the north. At the Cascades the navigation of the river is interrupted by a series of falls and rapids, caused by the immense volume forcing its way through the gorge of the President's Range. From the Cascades there is still-water navigation for forty miles, when the river is again obstructed by rapids; after passing these it is navigable for 120 miles to the ocean. The only other great independent river in the territory is the Tacoutche or Fraser's River. It takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains near the source of Canoe River; thence it takes a northwesterly course for eighty miles, when it makes a turn southward, receiving Stuart's River, which brings down its waters from a chain of lakes extending to the 56th degree of latitude. Turning down from Stuart's River, the Tacoutche pursues a southerly course until it reaches latitude 49°, where it breaks through the Cascade Range in a succession of falls and rapids, then turns to the west, and after a course of seventy miles more, disembogues into the Gulf of Georgia, on the Straits of Fuca, in latitude 47° 07′. Its whole length is 350 miles, but it is only navigable for seventy miles from its mouth by vessels drawing twelve feet of water. It has three trading posts upon it belonging to the company: Fort Langley at its mouth, Fort Alexandria at the junction of a small stream a few miles south of Quisnell's River, and another at the junction of Stuart's River. The country drained by this river is poor and generally unfit for cultivation. The climate is extreme in its variations of heat and cold, and in the fall months, dense fogs prevail which bar every object from the eye beyond the distance of a hundred yards. The chief features of the section are extensive forests, transverse ranges of low countries and vast tracts of marshes and lakes formed by the streams descending from the surrounding heights.

"The character of the great river is peculiar—rapid and sunken much below the level of the country, with perpendicular banks they run as it were in trenches, which make it extremely difficult to get at the water in many places, owing to their steep basaltic walls. They are at many points contracted by dalles, or narrows, which during the rise, back the water some dis-

tance, submerging islands and tracts of low prairie, and giving them the appearance of extensive lakes.

"The soil along the river bottoms is generally alluvial and would yield good crops were it not for the overflowing of the rivers, which check and kill the grain. Some of the finest portions of the land are thus unfitted for cultivation. They are generally covered with water before the banks are overflown in consequence of the quicksands that exist in them and through which the water percolates."

"The rise of the streams flowing from the Cascade Mountains takes place twice a year, in February and November, and are produced by heavy and abundant rains. The rise of the Columbia takes place in May and June, and is attributable to the melting of the snows. Sometimes the swell of the latter is very sudden, if heavy rains should also happen at that period, but it is generally gradual and reaches its greatest height from the 6th to the 15th of June. Its perpendicular rise is from 18 to 20 feet at Vancouver, where a line of embankment has been thrown up to protect the lower prairie; but it has generally been flooded during these visitations and the crops often destroyed.

"The greatest rise of the Willamette takes place in February, and sometimes ascending to the height of 20 feet, does considerable damage. Both this river and the Cowelitz are much swollen by the backing of their waters during the height of the Columbia, all their lower grounds being at such times submerged. This puts an effectual bar to the border prairies being used for anything but pasturage. This happily is fine throughout the year, except in the season of floods, when the cattle must be driven to the high grounds."

The lakes of Oregon are numerous and well distributed in the different regions of the territory. In the northern section, the Okanogan (from which flows the river of that name), Stuart's and Fraser's, near the upper boundary; Quesnell's in 53° and Klamloop's in 51° are the largest. In the central section, we have the Flatbow, the Coeur d'Alene or "Pointed Heart" and the Kullespelm, and in the southern district are the Klamet, the Pit and an abundance of inferior lakes, as yet unnoticed on the maps, and for which geographers have not yet been able to discover names. Several of the latter are salt, and, at intervals, we find chains of hot springs bubbling in some places above the ground, like those of Iceland. The smaller lakes are said to add much to the picturesque beauty of the streams.

The whole territory is well watered in all directions, and from the peculiar character of its rivers, their descent, the rapidity of their currents and their frequent falls there is perhaps no country in the world which affords so many facilities for manufacturing purposes through the agency of water power. This is a peculiarly happy circumstance, when taken into consideration with the fact that the timber overspreading the west-

ern portion and clustering around its mill sites will, for a long time, form one of the principal exports in the markets of the Pacific. This will appear from the high prices which it now commands, and also from the fact that no other portion of the Northwest Coast produces it. Already trading vessels resort to the mouth of the Columbia to supply themselves with spars and other necessary materials, and the improving facilities of inland intercommunication has directed some of it from point to point within the territory.

Having now completed our account of the great physical characteristics of Oregon, our attention naturally turns to those portions of its natural history which are equally necessary to render a land serviceable to the wants of man. Of these the first and most important are the fisheries. "These," says Lieutenant Wilkes, "are so immense that the whole native population subsist on them." All the rivers, bays, harbors and shores of the coast and islands abound in salmon, sturgeon, cod, carp, sole, flounders, ray, perch, herring, lamprey eels and a kind of smelt or sardine, which is extremely abundant. The different kinds predominate alternately, according to the situations of the respective fisheries, but the salmon abound everywhere over all. This superior fish is found in the largest quantities in the Columbia and the finest of them are taken at the Dalles. They run twice a year, May and October, and appear inexhaustible. To so great an extent is traffic in them already advanced that the establishment at Vancouver alone exports ten thousand barrels of them annually. There are also large quantities of oysters, clams, crabs, mussels and other kinds of shell fish found in the different bays and creeks of the country, and to complete this piscatory feature, we are further told that whales are also found in numbers along the coast and at the mouth of the Strait of Fuca, where they are frequently captured by the piscivorous aborigines.

Of game, an equal abundance exists. In the spring and fall, the rivers literally swarm with geese, duck, cranes, swans and other species of water-fowl; and the elk, deer, antelope, bear, wolf, fox, martin, beaver, muskrat, grizzly bear and siffleur make, with them, the harvest of the hunter's rifle. In the middle section little or no game is to be found, but in the third region the buffalo are plenty and form an attraction to numerous hunting parties of the Blackfeet and Oregon Indians.

The population of Oregon Territory has been estimated by Lieutenant Wilkes to be about 20,000, of whom 19,200 or 300 are aborigines, and the remaining seven or eight hundred whites. This number and its proportions have, however, increased and varied considerably since the time of his estimate. The years succeeding his visit beheld large emigrations from the States, and the white population of Oregon may now be safely set down as being between two and three thousand, of whom the majority are from the States. The largest portion of these are

located in the valley of the Willamette, where, as we have already seen, they have adopted a government of their own. The other white inhabitants are sprinkled about in different portions of the Territory, at the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose officers and servants amount, in all, to between five and six hundred, but this number does not include their Iroquois and Sandwich Island serfs.

There are no means of ascertaining with accuracy the numbers of the aboriginal population, as many of them move from place to place in the fishing seasons; but, for the purpose of furnishing the reader with the nearest warrant for reliance, we will here insert a tabular statement, prepared by Mr. Crawford, of the Indian Department, for the use of last Congress:

Indians West of the Rocky Mountains, in the Oregon District, and Their Numbers.

Nez Perces	.....	Chimnapuns	2,000
Ponderas	.....	Shallatlos.	200
Flatheads.	800	Speannaros	240
Cour D'Alene	.....	Saddals.	400
Shoshonies.	1,800	Wallawallahs	2,600
Callapooahs.	.....	Chopunnishees	3,000
Umbaquahs.	.....	Catlashoots	430
Kiyuse	.....	Pohahs	1,000
Spokeus	.....	Willewahs	1,000
Oknanagans	.....	Sinacsops.	200
Cootomies	.....	Chillokittequaws	2,400
Chilts	800	Echebools	1,000
Chinookes	400	Wahupums	1,000
Snakes	1,000	Euesteurs.	1,200
Cathlamahs	200	Clackamurs	1,800
Wahkiakumes.	200	Chanwappans	400
Skillutes.	2,500		
Sokulks.	3,000		29,570

The most numerous and warlike of the Oregon Indians are in the islands to the north, but on the mainland they are generally friendly and well disposed. They are, however, rapidly passing away before the advancing destiny of a superior race, and with the wild game vanish gradually from the white man's tracks. Those remaining are a servile and degraded class, who perform the meanest offices of the settlements and readily consent to a mode of existence under the missionaries and other settlers but little short of vassalage. In the Wallamette Valley there are now left but a few remnants of the once numerous and powerful tribes that formerly inhabited it. At the mouth of the Columbia there are some few of the Chenooks still left, and about the Cascades and at The Dalles still linger considerable numbers of this ill-fated and fast fading people. There is no longer any spirit left in them; their hearts are broken,

their bows unstrung, and from lords of the soil they have sunk to the degradation of its slaves.

The Kiyuses and Nez Perces still maintain a portion of their independence, but numbers of them, through the exertions of the missionaries, have made considerable advances in civilization and many more would doubtless adapte themselves to a more methodical system of life were not the first lessons of the science an exaction of their labors for the benefit of others. At the present they can only be regarded in the light of a servile population, which, in the existing dearth of labor, is rendered of vast service to the active settler. In speaking of the influences of the missionaries over the Indians, Lieutenant Wilkes remarks: "They have done but little towards Christianizing the natives, being principally engaged in cultivating the mission farms and in the increase of their own flocks and herds. As far as my personal observation went, there are very few Indians to engage their attention, and they seemed more occupied with the settlement of the country and agricultural pursuits than in missionary labors."

The treatment of the Indians by the Hudson's Bay Company is politic and judicious; they rigidly enforce that wise provision of their charter which forbids the sale of ardent spirits, and in carrying it out have even been known, upon the arrival of a vessel at the Columbia with spirits aboard, to purchase that portion of the cargo to prevent others from defeating the wisdom of prohibition. Schools for the native children are attached to all the principal trading posts, and particular care is extended to the education of the half-breed children,* the joint offspring of the traders and the Indian women, who are retained and bred, as far as possible, among the whites, and subsequently employed, when found capable, in the service of the company. The policy of this course is obvious. The savage is gradually cured of his distrust and coaxed into new connections. He abandons the use of his bows, his arrows and all his former arms, and the result is that he soon becomes an absolute dependant upon those who furnish him his guns, ammunition, fish-hooks, blankets, etc.

*A natural obligation where so many are got.

The course observed by this company to American settlers is equally politic. They are received with kindness and aided in the prosecution of their objects so long as these objects are only agricultural; but no sooner does any of them attempt to hunt, trap or trade with the natives, then all the force of the body is immediately directed towards them. "A worthy missionary, now established on the Columbia," says Greenhow, "while acknowledging in conversation with me the many acts of kindness received by him from the Hudson's Bay Company's agents, at the same time declared—that he would not buy a skin to make a cap without their assent."

No sooner is an American trading post established than a British agent, with more merchandise and a larger amount of

ready money, settles down beside it, and by the superior advantages he gives the Indians in paying high and selling low, drives the American trader to despair, and finally sends him, with his hopes crushed and his enterprise destroyed, back to the States a ruined man. In pursuance of the same monopolizing system, the company endeavor to prevent the vessels of the United States from obtaining cargoes on the Northwest Coast, and truth to say, they are generally successful in their object.

By its enormous wealth, its extensive stations, its able policy and numerous retainers, this company has indeed become a formidable body, and it is a matter of importance that we should make ourselves acquainted with its genius and its tendencies.

We have seen that it is the representative of the interests of Great Britain in Oregon; we have glanced at a few of the means it adopts to protect and further them, and now that recent events have given a subordinate aspect to their political position, it is of interest to examine the mode their sagacity has devised to meet and overcome the circumstances threatening their decline.

The original object of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment in Oregon was for the purposes of fur trading alone, and to that their operations were confined until their investiture with the attributes of territorial sovereignty by the British government. From that time, however, it appears they considered no person should be permitted within the limits of the Territory, except by their consent, and hence their degeneration into a mere band of conspirators, as evidenced by the course of policy we have already alluded to. At length, however, the fur trade in the countries of the Columbia nearly ceased and the company were obliged to turn their attention to other objects. They have, it will be found, laid out farms on the most extensive scale, erected mills, established manufactures, entered into the fisheries, employed vessels for the purposes of commerce, and, in short, at the present moment, though they have lost the regal shadow, they present the aspect of a dominant corporation, whose enormous wealth enables it to engross everything above the mere pastoral and agricultural branches of industry and to turn even the products of those into their already overrunning coffers. This is not presented as a matter of complaint against the Hudson's Bay Company, for it is but the natural bent of wealth and corporative enterprise to monopolize and grasp to the destruction of every opposing influence, but it affords a subject of reproachful reflection against our government for not checking these tendencies and counteracting their effects by stretching its protection to those who fall within their reach. The maternal care of England for her subjects stretches to the most obscure extremity of the earth, while the eye of the Republic overlooks its despairing children even in a portion of her own immediate dominions.

PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL RAILROAD FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC.

For the Purpose of Obtaining a Short Route to China.

Having ascertained what Oregon is, our next inquiry becomes in what view it is of the most importance to us, and how we may most readily and completely avail ourselves of its advantages.

As an agricultural country it is of no great importance to a nation having contiguous leagues on leagues of land yielding the same products nearer at home, the abundant fertility of which has never yet been challenged by the spade or plough;* but as a commercial avenue to the wealth of the Indies and the riches of the Pacific, its value in incalculable.

In any view, whether agricultural or commercial, the advantages and worth of this territory depend upon the easiness of its approach from the States, and any means that are adopted to facilitate this intercommunication will, according to their degree of efficiency, proportionately advance its destiny. Nature has already contributed to the object more liberally in the country under consideration than to the same extent of any other portion of the globe. From the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains spreads a plain scarcely broken by a hillock; through that stupendous ridge gapes a pass presenting no discouraging opposition to heavily laden wagons with single teams, and from its western side the banks of the Saptin lead the traveler safely through to the navigable waters of the Columbia.

The time required for the journey by the present mode of traveling is from three to four months; but though this might suffice for the gradual drain of a surplus population, it will not meet the new designs which the full possession of this land of promise opens to us.

These designs are legitimately the same which have agitated the commercial world since the discovery of this continent, and they are now happily within our reach and accomplishment by means of a railroad. As it is one of the main purposes of this work to urge this project upon the people of this country, and as it is filled with considerations of the weightiest moment, it will be necessary to treat it with that method and particularity which its merits demand, and which will adapt it to the ready and accurate comprehension of every understanding.

Our first purpose, therefore, will be to measure the value of the object we seek by philosophical inquiry, and by the estimation of its importance by other powers, and our second to glance at some of the results that will flow from it to our benefit as a nation.

The commerce of the East, in every age, has been the source of the opulence and power of every nation which has engrossed

*Our unoccupied public lands amount to 700,000,000 acres.

it. By a silent and almost imperceptible operation, India has been through centuries the secret but active cause of the advancement of mankind, and while lying apparently inert in her voluptuous clime, has changed the maritime balances of Europe with the visit of every new nation that has sought the riches of her shores. Her trade imparted the first great impulse to drowsy and timid navigation; it revealed in the direction to its coasts region after region before unknown; it found for the guidance of the mariner new planets in the sky, and its restless spirit has not even been content to make more than a temporary pause in the discovery of another world.* Like the Genii of the fable it still offers the casket and the sceptre to those who, unintimidated by the terrors which surround it, are bold enough to adventure to its embrace. In turn, Phoenicia, Israel,† Carthage, Greece, Rome, (through her vanquished tributaries) Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Portugal, Holland, and lastly England, have won and worn the ocean diadem. Our destiny now offers it to us!

To shorten, by a western passage, the route to the Indies, which now must be conducted circuitously around the fearful barriers of Cape Horn and Southern Africa, is a design that has long occupied the attention and aroused the exertions of all maritime nations. The first and most remarkable effort to effect it was made in the latter part of the fifteenth century, by Columbus, which resulted in the discovery of another world, and the search has been maintained with but little intermission by the intervening ages ever since. Exploring expeditions to both the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts have pryed in every sinuosity of shore from latitude 50° south to the border of the Frigid zone, and in the defeat of their exertions projects have been formed even to pierce the continent to accomplish the design. As early as the seventeenth century a company was formed in Scotland to improve the advantages offered by the Isthmus of Darien and Panama for trade in the Pacific;‡ but the project being discountenanced by England at the violent remonstrances of her powerful East India Company, the subscriptions were withdrawn and the enterprise temporarily dropped. It was revived soon after by its indefatigable projector, who, having raised £700,000 and 1,200 men, set sail in five ships to found a colony; but being denounced by the government and attacked by a Spanish force while its reduced numbers were suffering under disease and famine, they sunk under their accumulated misfortunes and abandoned the enterprise in despair.

From that time to this, the project of dividing the isthmus has been a favorite theme with European philosophers and states-

* The object of Columbus was not, as has been erroneously supposed, the discovery of a new continent, but a shorter route to Cathay.

† Envying the success of the Phoenicians, David and Solomon, after having seized upon Idumea as a preparative, sent their fleets through the Arabian Gulf to Tarshish, Ophir, and other ports in Africa and India, and by this means diffused throughout the land of Israel "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind." It is to this cause, doubtless, that the latter monarch specially owes his vast reputation for sagacity, as well as the splendor of his reign.

‡ This scheme was projected by William Patterson, who was supposed to have benn originally a South American Buccaneer, cotemporary with Sir Henry Morgan.

men; but the subject appears never to have advanced beyond the bounds of mere speculation until later years. In 1814 it was revived by Spain, who this time seemed to be seriously in earnest in the matter. By a vote of her Cortes, dated April 30th, in the above year, the immediate commencement of the work was decreed, but the foreign domestic troubles into which she was plunged at this period rendered her incapable of carrying out the grand design.

The project found its next active and practical supporter in Bolivar, who in 1827 appointed a commissioner to ascertain, by actual survey, the best line, either by railroad or canal, between the two seas. The commissioner reported in favor of the latter, and an estimate was subsequently made by a French engineer that a canal, forty miles in length, might be constructed across it at an expense of less than three millions of dollars, but the untimely death of the illustrious patron of the scheme put an end to its further prosecution. The next movement in the measure took place in 1842, when the Mexican government, upon application, empowered Don Jose de Garay, one of its citizens, to effect a communication across its territories, between the oceans, and invested him with the most ample rights and immunities on condition of his completing the work. Don Jose, in pursuance of his grant, appointed a scientific commission that accomplished the survey in 1842 and 1843, the result of which established the perfect practicability of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Tehauntepec. Upon these grounds and the security of his governmental grants and privileges, its projector is now in London soliciting the aid of British capital to carry out the scheme.

France, with the view of advancing the value of her oceanic possessions, is deeply alive to the importance of this measure. Under the special patronage of Guizot and Admiral Roussin, a private survey of the isthmus has recently been made, the importance attributed to which may be imagined by the careful suppression of its details from the public. Thus evidences multiply that the world will not much longer endure the petty obstacles which bar them from the long-desired western passage to the Indies. How important, therefore, that we, who have an engrossing interest in this subject, should protect ourselves from being outstripped by those whom our rapidly advancing destiny already promises to leave behind.

The English government, though the junction of the seas has been repeatedly and strenuously urged by the representatives of some of her most important mercantile interests, have betrayed an apathy upon the subject which, if not accounted for by the principles of her usually selfish policy, would appear inexplicable, but she doubtless reasons thus:

"'Let well alone.' By the present routes around the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Isthmus of Suez, we have a fair start with the best, and a superior chance over most other nations for the Indies; and while our established power in that region

and our superior marine secures us a preponderance in her trade, it would be madness to contribute to afford superior facilities and advantages to others. Through her geographical position the United States, from whose wonderful energies and fearful strides toward maritime equality we have everything to fear, can more readily avail herself of the benefits of this passage than any other nation. Her fleets would stream in one unbroken line through the Gulf of Mexico, her naval power would overawe our settlements on the Northwest Coasts, and her impertinent enterprise, of which we have had a late evidence in China, would extend itself throughout our Indian possessions. The Marquesas Islands, which, in case this project be carried out, lie directly in the road of navigation, would at a step advance into one of the most important maritime posts in the world, while the Society Islands, also in the possession of France, would enhance immensely in their value. Worse than all, returning back, the vessels of all Europe would ere long procure their tropical products from the newly awakened islands of the ocean, and in just the degree that the value of Oceana would increase, our West India possessions would depreciate. By changing the route and extending it across the ocean instead of circuitously through it, we should voluntarily resign into other hands those commanding maritime and naval stations which we have won at the outlay of so much diplomacy and perseverance. The power and advantages of St. Helena, Mauritius, Capetown at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Falkland Islands commanding the passage around Cape Horn, will be transferred to New Orleans and other cities of the United States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, to Cuba, Chagres, Panama and the Marquesas Islands. Let us, therefore, 'let well alone,' and be content with our present supremacy upon its present basis; unless indeed we can gain a superior advantage through the Arctic Sea,* or monopolize a Mexican route to the shores of the Californias. The isthmus passage must, however, be discouraged, and if persevered in, Cuba must at all hazards be obtained to compensate in some degree for the losses we shall sustain on the African Coasts."

This supposition is by no means strained. It is but a fair inference from Britain well known selfish character and policy, and the United States would be justified in turning the proposition against her.

Having thus measured the importance attributed to the design of shortening the western passage to the Indies by the immense sums which have been lavished, and the hazards which have been braved upon the mere hope of its accomplishment,

* NEW VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.—It is in the contemplation of the British government to send out another expedition to the Arctic regions, with the view of discovering *the* or *a* Northwest passage between the Atlantic and Pacific; and the Council of the Royal Society, having been solicited to give their opinion as to the desireableness of such an expedition, have stated that, independent of the great object to be attained, the benefits that would accrue to the sciences of geography and terrestial magnetism render such an expedition peculiarly desirable. The Erebus and Terror, which were recently employed at the South pole, under Sir J. Ross, have returned in such good order as to be ready to be made immediately available for employment on similar service.—*English Paper.*

is it not incumbent upon us to inquire if we have not within our own boundaries the means and facilities of effecting it, and if we have, is it not likewise incumbent on us to carry the long desired object to its fulfilment? We owe this to our own character, to our posterity, to the world—and we most specially owe to the genius of the fifteenth century (which in the prosecution of this very plan redeemed us from the ocean) the completion of the purpose which we barred.

The circumstance of England's opposition to the plan (or to a similar one) is alone an urgent motive to the undertaking; the revelations of each succeeding day strengthen the opinion that our interests and policy are founded upon antagonistic principles. We are her natural rival upon the ocean, and as we advance she retires. We are the only power that ever baffled her arms, and the course of things have marked us as the heir of her strength and the successor to her trident. Already the commerce of the globe, divided into eight parts, gives more than five between us two, and a sub-division affords but one part less to us than to her. Here, to use the expression of one of her own writers, is a "great fact;" a fact so pregnant that it turns Speculation into Prescience, and points to the decree of Fate in our future and speedy preponderance. France understands the relative positions and interests of this country and Great Britain as well as, if not better, than ourselves, and is perhaps actuated to the interest she takes in the opening of the isthmus by a more comprehensive policy than that which springs merely from the influences of an immediate self-interest. The spirit of her people is akin to ours, their natural bent of mind inclines them for democratic institutions, and their hearts beat towards us with sentiments of warm affection. To quote the language of one of their popular organs: She looks toward us as her natural ally and as the only power which can eventually release the ocean from the tyranny of Great Britain. If this hope live in France, how much stronger must its ray be cherished by those inferior powers who dare not aspire to rise above submission?

"There is a divinity that shapes the ends" of nations as of men, and we may discern the fulfilment of the maxim in the continual defeat of the most daring enterprise of man as applied to this design, through a period of four centuries. Not ripe for its great revolution, Providence has denied it to the world until the hour should arrive for the first great step toward perfecting the grand scheme of the creation. A thousand combining influences tell us that the time has come; the universal beams of knowledge have driven Superstition and Ignorance from the stage of action to mope in the dreary cells which imprisoned under them too long the genius of mankind. Science having stripped experiment of its terrors, measures with accuracy the results of every assay, and despising the obstacles of Nature, whose elements, nay, even the forked lightning itself, she has

fastened to her car, feels as capable of beating down the barriers of a continent as of measuring the distance to a planet. A new principle has been evoked which, though simple in its pretensions and matter-of-fact in its operations, will share in future times the honor of the mariner's compass and the printing press in civilizing and advancing man. The object of each is sympathetic with the other; the result of each must tend to the same end. Their principle is **intercourse** and their spirit **progress.** The first awoke our hemisphere from its sleep in the abyss; the second infused sentiments which turned the footsteps of our ancestors toward it, and we must now invoke the third for the final accomplishement of its destiny!

It is true there is much that is startling in the proposition of a **national railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans,** and much that will strike the hasty observer as chimerical; but when we have seen stupendous pyramids raised by human hands in the midst of a sterile and shifting desert; while we know that despite the obstacles of Nature and the rudeness of Art, a semi-barbarous people, many centuries before the Christian era, erected around their empire a solid barrier of wall, thirty feet in height, and so broad that six horsemen could ride on it abreast, carrying it over the most formidable mountains, across rivers on arches and through the declensions and sinuosities of valleys to the distance of **fifteen hundred miles,** let us not insult the enterprise of this enlightened age by denouncing the plan of a simple line of rails over a surface but a little greater in extent, without one half the natural obstacles to overcome, as visionary and impracticable.

Geographers variously estimate the greatest breadth of our country from ocean to ocean at 1,700 to 2,000 miles.* Taking the largest estimate and adding to it 500 miles to allow for occasional deviation of route, and we have a distance of 2,500 miles, which at the moderate rate of fifteen miles to the hour,† can be accomplished in **seven days.** We have already from New York a continuous line of railroad and steamboat communication laid out to Chicago, Illinois, proceeding from which point, directly along the 42d parallel, we find a smooth and gently rolling plain, without serious obstruction or obstacle in any part, until we strike the Great Southern Pass, through the Rocky Mountains, into Oregon. The following account of an expedition in wagons to this point, in 1829, will serve to show the nature of the facilities which offer themselves to the traveler through the region lying between the mountains and the States. It is an extract from a letter addressed by Messrs. Smith, Jackson and Soublette to the Secretary of War, in October, 1829, and published with President Jackson's message, January 25th, 1831:

*McCulloch, in his Gazateer, compiled from all the authorities, estimates the breadth at its widest stretch to be 1,700 miles—Professor Morse, in his Geography published in 1845, at 2,000.

† Our Boston railroad cars frequently travel at the rate of 22 miles to the hour, stoppage included.

"On the 10th of April last (1829) we set out from St. Louis with eighty-one men, all mounted on mules, ten wagons, each drawn by five mules, and two dearborns (lights carriages or carts), each drawn by one mule. Our route was nearly due west to the western limits of the State of Missouri, and thence along the Santa Fe trail, about forty miles from which the course was some degrees north of west, across the waters of the Kansas,‡ and up the Great Platte River to the Rocky Mountains and to the head of Wind River, where it issues from the mountains.

"This took us until the 16th of July and was as far as we wished the wagons to go, as the furs to be brought in were to be collected at this place, which is, or was, this year the great rendezvous of the persons engaged in that business. **Here the wagons could easily have crossed the Rocky Mountains, it being what is called the Southern Pass, had it been desirable for them to do so**; which it was not, for the reason stated. For our support, at leaving the Missouri settlements until we should get into the buffalo country, we drove twelve head of cattle besides a milch cow. Eight of them only being required for use before we got to the buffaloes, the others went on to the head of Wind River. On the 4th of August the wagons, being in the meantime loaded with the furs which had been previously taken, we set out on the return to St. Louis. All the high points of the mountains then in view were white with snow, but the passes and valleys and all the level country were green with grass. Our route back was over the same ground nearly as in going out, and we arrived at St. Louis on the 10th of October, bringing back the ten wagons (the dearborns being left behind); four of the oxen and the milch cow were also brought back to the settlements of the Missouri, as we did not need them for provisions. The usual weight in the wagons was about one thousand eight hundred pounds. The usual progress of the wagons was from fifteen to twenty miles per day. **The country being almost all open, level and prairie,** the chief obstructions were ravines and creeks, the banks of which required cutting down, and for this purpose a few pioneers were generally kept ahead of the caravan. This is the first time that wagons ever went to the Rocky Mountains, **and the ease and safety with which it was done, prove the facility of communicating overland with the Pacific Ocean, the route from the Southern Pass, where the wagons stopped, to the Great Falls of the Columbia, being easier and better than on this side of the mountains, with grass enough for horses and mules, but a scarcity of grain for the support of men.**"

In addition to this account, which so satisfactorily establishes the feasibility of the work in view, we have the corroborative relation, if corroboration lends any strength to indisputable

‡ It must be borne in mind that this departure from the direct line of route along the 42d parallel is pursued by travelers with a view of obtaining water, and also game, which are invariably to be found in the vicinity of great rivers.

testimony, of Thomas P. Farnham, who, in his journal of a journey made from the Mississippi to the mouth of the Columbia, in 1840, gives us the following statement:

"Among the curiosities of this place (Fort Boise, a trading post on the Saptin,) were the fore-wheels, axletree and thills of a one-horse wagon, run by American missionaries from the State of Connecticut thus far towards the mouth of the Columbia. It was left here under the belief that it could not be taken through the Blue Mountains, but fortunately for the next that shall attempt to cross the continent, a safe and easy passage has lately been discovered, by which vehicles of this description may be drawn through to the Walla Walla." Here we have the testimony of an intelligent observer who has traveled over every inch of the route, as well as that on this side of the mountains as the portion unexplored by the former party, whose account we have previously given. This, with numerous similar accounts in existence, among which is the journal at the end of this volume, must convince the most skeptical that a railroad to and through this district of country is practicable beyond a doubt. There is reason to believe, however, that upon the careful preparatory survey which must be instituted, new notches through these formidable ridges may be found still better adapted to the work in view, and in a more direct line with Puget's Sound, in whose commodious harbors our commercial operations in the Pacific, from the absolute absence of the requisite facilities on any southern portion of the Oregon coast, must necessarily center.* Taking the practicability of the work therefore as established, it will not be improper to devote ourselves to a short inquiry as to the other modes and means of effecting the ultimate design.

In these, Nature herself volunteers her assistance to the enterprise. No ocean is so remarkably adapted to steam navigation as the Pacific. Its tranquil surface is scarcely ever agitated by a storm, and propitious winds and currents accelerate the course of the mariner across its bosom. The general motion of its waters is from west to east at the average velocity of twenty-eight miles a day. In consequence the sea appears on some portions of the coast to flow constantly from the land, and vessels sail with great celerity from Acapulco in Mexico to the Philippine Islands, on the coast of Asia. The N. E. trade winds blow almost uninterruptedly between latitudes 5° and 23° north, and with the assistance of the currents and the flow of the sea, enable vessels within this region to sail from America to Asia almost without changing their sails. Our course to the Indies from the mouth of the Columbia, or from the Straits of St. Jean de Fuca would be southwest to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence, directly along the twentieth parallel, across. Returning by a more northwardly route, advantage would be taken

* By crossing the river at Wallawalla and proceeding in a direct line along the banks of the Eyakema river, the distance is shorter to the harbors of Puget Sound than to the shores of the ocean.

of the polar currents which set N. W. towards the Straits of Behring, and also of the variable winds prevailing in the higher latitudes. Having crossed our continent in seven days, we span the Pacific in twenty-five more, and thus in thirty-two reach the ports of China; by the same route back the products of the East may land upon the shores of Europe in forty-six days; a period of time but little more than one-third of that now taken to make the ordinary passages around the southern extremities of America and Africa.

The view that this opens to the mind, independent of its internal benefits, staggers speculation with its immensity and stretches beyond all ordinary rules of calculation. A moderate forecast may, however, forsee the following results: The riches of the most unlimited market in the world would be thrown open to our enterprise, and obeying the new impulse thus imparted to it, our commerce would increase till every ocean billow between us and the China Sea would twinkle with a sail. By the superior facilities conferred upon us by our position and control of the route, we should become the common carrier of the world for the India trade. "Britannia rules the waves" would dwindle to an empty boast, and England would have to descend from her arrogant assumption of empire o'er the sea to the level of a suppliant's tone, in common with the great and small of the European powers, for the benefits of this avenue of nations. The employment as common carrier could be secured to us by the imposition of a tonnage duty, heavy enough to amount to a prohibition, upon all foreign bottoms arriving at our Pacific Coast. There is nothing remarkably selfish, neither is there anything repugnant to fair dealing in this regulation; we are deserving of one special advantage as a premium for conferring this benefit upon all, and we have the example of Great Britain herself to justify us in the adoption of the rule. The rapid and excessive increase of our commercial marine would necessarily follow this result. Encouraged by the comparative ease and safety of its service, and enticed by the liberal wages which the demand for so many hands would ensure, thousands of our young men, whom the dangers and privations of a seafaring life have heretofore deterred from carrying out the natural desire of visiting foreign climes, would embrace the sailor's occupation, and a nursery would thus be established from whose exhaustless sources the demand of our increasing navy would always find a supply.

(*Continued.*)

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CHINESE HISTORY.

It is natural that we should be especially interested in the history of our own intellectual ancestors, the people of Europe and Western Asia; and, as far as we can trace the origins of our Western civilization back Eastward into the great mysterious continent of Asia, our scholars are following with eagerness. But Western scholarship has not greatly interested itself in the records of the ancient Eastern civilization that has grown up on the other slope of the continent in the valleys of the Yellow, Yangtzu and Pearl Rivers. Until comparatively recent times China has been so separated from the rest of the world by the almost impassable high lands and the oceans that it might almost have been upon another planet. Because of this isolation, language and thought have developed in forms so strange that the intellectual isolation has continued long after the difficulties of physical geography have been overcome. The strong incentive that we have to delve into the ancient history of the Western Asiatic countries is lacking in the case of China and Japan, for, however deeply we go, we do not uncover the origins of our own institutions and ideals, but those of a civilization foreign to our thought and experience.

The independent development of language in the Chinese race creates great difficulty for the Western scholar. The monosyllabic structure puts a severe strain upon memories trained to the Indo-European polysyllabic forms, but the peculiarities of the Chinese writing make the greatest intellectual barrier between the East and the West. This is a barrier more formidable than the high lands of Thibet. Instead of making their written symbols stand for the spoken sounds by means of consonants and vowels, the Chinese polished up the early picture and arbitrary sign writing into a medium fit for literary expres-

sion. But the literature so formed is strange to the mental taste of the Western scholar. It appeals to the eye rather than to the ear. It has had its convenience among the diverse tribes of Eastern Asia, for it can be used and appreciated by tribes and nations who are unable to communicate with one another by the spoken word. So we have the spectacle of Japanese, Coreans and Chinese using different spoken languages, but all uniting in the use of one written language. The literature which is built up on the character writing has very great beauty and force to one whose proficiency has made him able to appreciate it, but it is almost impossible to represent adequately the merits of Chinese literature through translation into a European language. The structure of the language is too different.

The natural difficulties for the Western student of Chinese history and institutions have been needlessly increased since some interest began to be taken in the far East by the irritating perversity that has been shown by writers on Chinese geography, history and literature, in their manner of Romanizing the Chinese characters. If the official Chinese spoken language had been accepted by all translators as the standard, and if the sounds of that one dialect had been Romanized by the same system, so that the same letters might always stand for the same Chinese characters, the Western reader might soon become familiar with the important Chinese proper names, and be able to recognize them in the different works that are accessible to him. Unfortunately, up to the present time the writers on things Chinese have been so erratic or careless in this respect that they have seriously impeded the growth of knowledge of the Orient. It is with great difficulty that one familiar with the Chinese written and spoken languages can follow intelligently the average writer, owing to the very uncertain and irregular methods of representing the geographical and biographical names; while, to one who has not the advantage of previous knowledge of Chinese, the attempt to keep things straight often ends in complete failure. French and German writers generally use a system of their own, and English and American writers not only differ from the French and Germans, but differ among themselves in the most bewildering manner. The best service that could be rendered to the American student of Chinese history, if it were practicable, would be to revise and harmonize the books that have already been written, so that the reader might recognize the same names when referred to by different authors. The only hope that I see for an escape from the present confusion is

in the formal adoption by the Chinese Government of a standard and authorized system of Romanization for the Chinese characters. Until this is done, all writers ought to use the system employed by Giles in his Dictionary of the Mandarin Dialect, which is recognized now as the standard English-Chinese dictionary.

The time has now come when scholars who make any pretensions to broad learning must take seriously the study of Oriental affairs, and especially the history and literature of that great empire that has dominated the far East for ages. It may be that a more thorough study of Chinese antiquities than has yet been pursued may reveal more connection between East and West in ancient times than has yet been proven. But, however that may be, the world is now entering upon a new era, and in future the Eastern Hemisphere is not to be left out of our world politics. The trade that began in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the beginning of political and social relations, but it was a small beginning, and had little in common with what may be expected in the twentieth century. In the early days of trading with China, the foreign merchant lived on the outskirts of the great mysterious empire, and was satisfied to accumulate the fortune that would allow him to retire and forget the East, while the Chinese dealt with the outside foreigner through middlemen and pursued their own way, uninfluenced by the foreign science, customs and ideals. The greatest event of our generation, and that which will have the most far-reaching consequences, is the deliberate and formal adoption of the modern Western education, science and political ideas by the Asiatics. One-fourth of the human race, and that not the least intelligent and capable, has held aloof from the activity and competition of modern life through its conservative adherence to the ancient system of classical education; but now, by the establishment of schools of science, and by going abroad for study, these once conservative scholars are striving with feverish earnestness to assimilate the new learning that has transformed the West. Our domestic political questions look large to us because of their nearness, but if we could view the planet from a little distance off, the present political and social movements of the far East would dwarf all other current events as the Himalayas dwarf the New England hills. In olden times when swords and spears, backed by brawn and muscle, determined the fate of battles, the hordes of Central and Eastern Asia made Europe tremble several times. Now that the great

Yellow Race has elected to appropriate the science of the West, and to conform largely to the industrial, social and political methods of the West, the consequences must be far-reaching. We do not need to leap hastily to the conclusion that a Yellow Peril hangs over us, but we do need to study carefully the history, character and capabilities of this race that is suddenly forcing its way into the family of modern nations.

I can offer but a few observations in the time allotted to me to-day. The Chinese race has naturally a very high intellectual endowment. History shows this in the very early evolution of the Chinese from barbarism into civilization. It is a common idea among Western scholars that the Chinese showed early a fatal mental limitation in developing up to a certain point and sticking there. That may be a hasty or shallow conclusion. Progress or stagnation in race development is due always to complex causes, often quite outside the question of the natural ability of the individuals composing the race. Precocity in mental development may act as a handicap to after generations, and I think it has done so in the case of the Chinese. Abstract thought came so early among them that the machinery of recording thought had not been worked into a convenient form before it was seized upon and used for the expression of a literature so valuable that it held the written symbols to their rude forms and so arrested the natural development of written language. Looking at the matter from this standpoint, pictorial and sign writing was discarded in the West because, during the time when it was in vogue, there were no minds intelligent enough to use it in such a way as to cause any difficulty about displacing it by the more convenient phonetic writing, when that had been invented by the ingenuity of the trading class. In the far East, on the contrary, a noble and extensive literature made the character writing sacred, and so prevented change. The literary style of the character writing is so distinctive that no phonetic writing can ever adequately represent it. So the arrested development of language in China is not due to the stupidity of the people, but to the too early production of profound thinkers and elegant writers. These early thinkers of the Chinese race held up high ethical ideals. In fact, study in the line of ethics seems to have been, in their judgment, all that was worthy the attention of the scholar. As the Chinese primer puts it, "Jen pu hsueh, pu chih i." "If a man does not study he does not know his duty." The fact that literature and scholarship have been occupied too exclusively with ethics has no doubt

decreased the practical biting force of moral precepts in China, as has been the case in other nations when religion has dominated thought and literature to the exclusion of healthy mental exercise in other lines; but the high ideals of the Chinese have by no means completely lost their force, either upon individuals or upon collective national action. These ideals are the saving force of Chinese society. The more one comes to understand the people, the more he realizes this. The overpowering influence of the early writers has, up to recent times, succeeded in diverting the whole mentality of the nation into the realm of literature and abstract thought, and so has kept the mental energy of the race out of the channels of the material science which we have cultivated for a few generations only, but with such startling results to the conditions of living. It is interesting to observe throughout the whole course of Chinese history how the agnosticism of Confucian scholarship has operated to check the growth of superstition. Physical science is gradually freeing the Western world from the terrible bondage of superstition. The saneness of Confucius and the other ancient philosophers of China has served to safeguard the nation to a great extent throughout the long period that has preceded the epoch of material science. The fog of superstition is always rising in China as elsewhere, but the sun of clear thinking in the Chinese classics has always tended to scatter the paralyzing fog. A comparison of China and India shows this clearly enough. In the advantage of emancipation from superstition the scholar class of China will bear favorable comparison with the same class of any country or race which has not yet come into the heritage of the modern experimental science.

Chinese scholars have now at last definitely and finally decided to add the study of modern science to their curriculum, as Japan has already done. This means that in the near future the whole vast Mongolian race is destined to enter into all the activity and competition of modern life, whether it be intellectual, economic or military. There is, therefore, the most urgent need that we study earnestly and systematically the history, social conditions, and mental and moral qualities of these people who are coming forward as the great new factor in world politics. Blind conceit has brought much sorrow and misfortune to the Chinese in the past. When Europe first knocked at the door, the ancient civilization of China would not stoop to study carefully the antecedents and capabilities of the Western strangers. Loss and humiliation were the consequences. The West

now needs to be warned against the same fatal mistake. If we persist in treating the black-haired race east of the Himalayas as a joke, applying miscroscopic care to the history of one of our own villages while we grudge the time required to learn even the general outlines of Chinese and Japanese history, we shall have our day of reckoning.

When Western scholars do once turn their attention to the far East, they will be surprised to learn how much there is of real intellectual interest in the study of the working out among the Asiatics of the social and moral problems that are common to the human race. Temperance legislation, old age pensions, trade unionism and many other of our most modern problems you will find have been discussed ages before they were ever thought of on this side of the planet.

Twentieth century conditions call for a remodelling of our curriculum of study and the addition of the far Eastern history and institutions to the list. Only in this way can educators take the necessary lead in preparing our race for the readjustments that are before us in our international relationships.

CHARLES D. TENNEY.

A VISIT TO WEST POINT.

The name of West Point is dear to the heart of every patriotic American citizen. It is the only spot in America where the flag of the United States has floated continuously from the early days of the Revolution—or to be more precise, from the 20th day of January, 1778, down to the present hour. It was the most important post in all of the original thirteen colonies, chiefly because it controlled and protected the Hudson River, as well as the highway which crossed that river and formed the connecting link between the New England colonies and those of the South Atlantic Coast, stretching from New York to Georgia. It was the favorite fortress of General George Washington because of its military importance, and it gave him more trouble and anxiety than any other, knowing as he did that the British forces in the neighboring city of New York also realized its immense value for strategic purposes and made many attempts, though always unsuccessful, to effect its capture. The darkest hour in the whole seven years of the Revolutionary War was the one wherein Benedict Arnold, then in command of the post, so nearly succeeded, through his treasonable correspondence with Major Andre, in delivering it up to Sir Henry Clinton, then in command of the British troops in New York City. But the watchful care of that Divine Providence which so often comes to the assistance of short-sighted men, brought his plans to confusion, and rescued, apparently at the last moment, a bulwark so necessary to American freedom and independence. Nor should the toils and sufferings of the West Point troops through all those trying years be overlooked or forgotten. They were second only to those that were experienced at Valley Forge, and were not confined, like those of Valley Forge, to a single winter, but were continued with more or less severity from the beginning of 1778 to the close of the war in 1783. They suffered from cold and hunger, insufficient supplies of food and clothing, arrears of pay, the want of medical supplies, hospitals and hospital stores and accommodations, and the mouldering walls and ruined casements of Fort Putnam, on a peak overlooking the Hudson River which they guarded so well, are still mute witnesses of the effective work they accomplished under such extraordinary difficulties. But it was not so much because of the high regard in which West Point was justly held by the leading men of the Revolutionary times as a bulwark of the

American lines, nor because of its strength as a fortress never yet possessed by an enemy, that it has been held in such esteem by the American people; but rather because it has become a famous seat of learning, a military school of unsurpassed excellence, whose graduates have rendered their country most brilliant and distinguished services both in war and in peace. Education has always been recognized as a prime factor in the progress and development of our country, but our ancestors never did a wiser or more salutary thing in that line than they did when they built up from small and insignificant beginnings, through many years of doubt and discouragement, this magnificent institution of the present day. The result of the splendid education—physical, moral and intellectual—furnished to the young men sent there from every State in the Union, and taken from all classes and conditions of society, have been of incalculable value in the civil and political as well as the military life of our country. The public improvements of any considerable importance in the United States are few in number which have not been benefited more or less by the mathematical training, the engineering skill and the practical experience of West Point graduates. For example, the distinguished services rendered to the entire country by General Isaac I. Stevens, the first governor of Washington Territory, as the constructor of fortifications on the Atlantic Coast, as a brave and gallant soldier in the Mexican War, in making the first surveys across the continent through a comparatively unknown country inhabited by wild, savage and hostile Indians when he practically located the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad as since established; his successful career as governor of Washington Territory, when the situation was surrounded with difficulties growing out of its recent organization, and the Indian wars in which many of its scattered inhabitants were then engaged; his subsequent labors in Congress as a delegate from the Territory, and his magnificent conduct as a general officer during the War of the Rebellion until his life finally came to a lamentable end on the 1st day of September, 1862, at the early age of forty-four years, all bear witness to the extraordinary amount of work which may be accomplished by one man in a comparatively brief period after graduation from West Point. His thorough and complete education at this Academy enabled him to use his large fund of knowledge, energy and ability to the best possible advantage, and his life from the time he was graduated in 1839 to its brilliant close on the battlefield of Chantilly was crowded with work

of local and national importance which would have taxed the industry of Michael Angelo, or the genius of the great Napoleon himself. Yet Governor Stevens is only one of the hundreds whose names might be mentioned, many of them more conspicuous, who have rendered services of inestimable value to our country, and whose honorable records have found prominent places in its history. Their names and deeds are household words throughout the civilized world. In all probability these men would have been good citizens, soldiers and patriots had they never seen West Point—but the training and discipline received there enabled them to comprehend clearly every situation, to act with promptness, celerity and decision in all emergencies, and to make the best possible use of all their opportunities—good, bad or indifferent. It was his experience with the graduates of West Point, who were under his command in the Mexican War, that led General Winfield Scott, the commanding general of the United States Army at that time, though himself not a graduate, to say: "I give it as my fixed opinion that, but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted four or five years with, in its first half, more defeats than victories falling to our share; whereas, in less than two campaigns, we conquered a great country and a peace without the loss of a single battle or skirmish." The remarkable success of the Union armies in our Civil War, and in the late Spanish War, have been sufficient to convince every thoughtful and intelligent mind of the immense value of that precise and thorough training along mathematical lines, which, here more than anywhere else, is instilled into the cadets who are graduated from this institution. The cost to the government of this Academy, from its earliest beginning down to the present time, and of the cadets who have been graduated therefrom, may be accurately estimated in dollars and cents, but there is no mathematician, however expert or able he may be, who can correctly calculate by any arithmetical system known to man the pecuniary or the financial or patriotic value of the services to the country and the world which have been rendered by the graduates of this now famous seat of military learning. In all the various walks of life—civil, political and military, in war and in peace, whether pursuing hostile Indians in the Everglades of Florida, or in the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, with Custer on the plains of the Dakotas, or building lighthouses and fortifications on the shores of the Atlantic, the Pacific, or the Great Lakes; as engineers, explor-

ers, bridge, canal and railroad builders, or in the various wars in which our country has been engaged,—their skill, endurance, ability and patriotism have been of incalculable value, and have contributed immensely to the growth and development of the country whose unparalleled prosperity we now enjoy, and whose future possibilities we are now beginning to realize. Yet there is nothing new or even modern in the fundamental principles by which this school is governed, or in the objects sought to be attained here in the instruction given to its pupils. These principles are as old as education itself, except in so far as they are made to conform to modern conditions, discoveries and developments in the various fields of science, improvement and invention. If Cyrus the Great were permitted to revisit a world wherein he was once so prominent a figure, as the head of the Empire of the Medes and Persians, nearly twenty-five hundred years ago, he would no doubt be surprised as well as pleased to know that "to learn to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth" were the most important points in the instruction now given to the cadets at West Point, as they were the chief features in the education of the youth of the nobility of his own time and country. For, beyond question, a higher regard is paid here to the inculcation of the principles of honor, truthfulness, integrity and patriotism than in any other educational institution of our country—numerous and estimable as these institutions are in their rules and practice with reference to these invaluable features of training for an honorable, a useful and a successful manhood.

But in other respects also this Academy has justified its claim to leadership among the schools of the country. It has been the first to practice many details in its methods of instruction, which have been or are now being adopted and successfully followed in other seats of learning. It was at West Point that the blackboard was first used in our country in the demonstration of a variety of problems. Now this useful adjunct of educational processes is to be found in every school house in the land. It is here that the practice is fully developed of dividing large classes into sections, each made up of eight to ten or twelve students, and each having a professor or instructor to hear recitations. By this method every cadet is called upon at each recitation to take part in the work of reciting, and there is no opportunity of escaping the study required or the demonstration expected of each individual. Equal thoroughness is thereby secured for the entire corps of cadets.

This method is now being introduced into many of the col-

leges and universities of the United States, and it is the only method by which uniform and satisfactory work can be secured by all members of the various classes therein. It was a very fortunate circumstance that French and other foreign officers, who had been educated in the best military schools of Europe, and who were distinguished for their skill and ability as engineers and mathematicians, assisted in the foundation of the course of studies at West Point which has proved so useful, so important and so successful in imparting that mental training so necessary to correct thinking and sound reasoning on all subjects. This, added to the drill and discipline enforced at the same time, inculcating a love of order and a devotion to duty, makes a training unsurpassed in excellence in bringing up men, not only of an exceptionally high standard in military matters, but a class of good citizens in any and every walk of life. Such men were the Chevelier Du Portail, Villefranche, L' Enfant, who laid out the present magnificent city of Washington, D. C., Col. Lewis Nicola, Kosciusko, Baron Steuben, and others who might be mentioned did space permit. These men knew the immense value of military training and discipline, and their services to our country in the early days of West Point were invaluable, and their benefical effects have been indelibly impressed upon this institution. We have always appreciated the great services rendered our country in its War for Independence by the gallant Lafayette and his French compatriots, and by the French Navy for its assistance in a time of pressing need, but I am not sure that the French officers who assisted in organizing the West Point Academy did not render our country services equally great, lasting and important. At all events, we owe them an immense debt of gratitude, which should never be overlooked or forgotten. The officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary Army suffered greatly for the want of that military knowledge and training which are indispensable to success in the conduct of military operations, and after many sad experiences were very willing to avail themselves of the assistance which these French officers were able to render in the establishment of a military school, which would, in some degree at least, supply the deficiency. That their work at the time on this line was highly appreciated is demonstrated by the fact that they received the thanks of Congress for the zeal, energy and ability they had displayed in this matter and those who wished to return to France were sent home at the expense of the government in the good ship Washington. They left behind them,

however, several younger officers, who continued the good work they had so auspiciously begun, some of whom, indeed, spent their lives in this country. The first troops to be stationed at West Point were located there on the 20th of January, 1778. From that time until the close of the Revolutionary War a garrison was maintained at that place, which sometimes amounted to three thousand men. The work of fortifying the place was begun by General Israel Putnam under the supervision of Lieutenant-Colonel De la Radiere, an accomplished French engineer, whose delicate frame succumbed to the hardships which all endured at that time, and he died the following summer. He was succeeded by Thaddeus Kosciusko, whose name is familiar to all readers of American history. The work of strengthening these fortifications went on steadily throughout the war, until a post, strong by nature and still further improved by all that art, skill, and the industry, patient labor and endurance of the patriots of that period, became almost impregnable. During the war the place was frequently visited by Washington and the leading military and civil officials of the Revolution, and its care and preservation were regarded as of the utmost importance. Its location is chiefly on a plateau of about two hundred acres overlooking the Hudson River, both above and below the point it occupies. It was then and is largely, even yet, surrounded by the primeval wilderness, rocky ridges and hills forming part of what is known as the Highlands of New York. Crow's Nest, a famous peak of the Highlands in the vicinity, on the west bank of the Hudson River and overlooking the river and surrounding country for many miles, rises to the height of 1,500 feet. The tract of land originally purchased by the United States government in 1780, which included West Point, contained 1,463 acres, but subsequently, in order to secure an adequate and suitable water supply and for other purposes, additional tracts were purchased from time to time, until the amount now owned by the government aggregates 2,556 acres. On the 6th of May, 1776, Colonel Henry Knox, then on the staff of General Washington, wrote a letter to John Adams suggesting the establishment of military academies for instruction of young men in all branches of the service. To this John Adams responded on June 2nd, saying, "I am fully of your sentiments." Later on, the same year, Knox wrote to Adams, "Military academies must be instituted at any price." September 27th, 1776, Knox wrote in his "Hints to Congressional Committee," then in camp at Harlem Heights: "Its officers can never act with confidence until they are masters of

their profession. An academy established on liberal plans would be of the utmost service to America, where the whole theory and practice of fortifications and gunnery should be taught." Another plan was also suggested, which was to educate young officers while serving with their regiments, but nothing ever came of it. On the 1st day of October, 1776, the Board of War, on the motion of John Adams, resolved that a committee of five be appointed to prepare and bring in a plan of a military academy at the army, but this resulted eventually in the organization of a Corps of Invalids, which was to contain forty officers and 920 enlisted men, and this corps was organized in Philadelphia, in July, 1777. It was to be employed in garrisons and for guards in cities and other places where magazines or arsenals were placed, as also to serve as a military school for young gentlemen, previous to their being appointed to marching regiments. Some members of this corps were, constituting until the close of the war in 1783, all there was of the military academy at that time. A certain amount of instruction was given by engineer officers, but it was limited in its scope and character. When a peace establishment was organized, the necessity of a military academy of a permanent and efficient character was urged by Knox, General Washington, Alexander Hamilton and other leading men of our country. Various efforts were made to establish a school and much correspondence took place, with debates in and out of Congress, as to the best method of carrying the universal wish into effect, but it was not until March 16, 1802, that the Organic Act of the United States Military Academy was passed substantially as it is today. This act authorized the President to appoint a corps of engineers, to consist of one major, two captains, two lieutenants and ten cadets, and limited the whole number to twenty officers and cadets. It provided that the said corps, when so organized, shall be stationed at West Point, in the State of New York, and shall constitute a military academy. This was practically the beginning of the institution, which has since grown to such magnificent proportions, and which has developed such a wide field of usefulness. Prior to this time the work was largely experimental. Washington, until the close of his life, continued to urge the necessity for such a school, and in his own words, "Ever considered the establishment of a military academy as of primary importance." Various acts of Congress since 1802 have increased the number of cadets and otherwise enlarged the work of the academy. In 1808, 156 additional cadets were authorized; in 1812 a further

addition of 104 was allowed, and by the act of March, 1843, the number of cadets was limited to the number of Representatives and Delegates in Congress and one from the District of Columbia. The number of cadets was still further increased by the act of June 6, 1900, which allowed two additional from each State and ten annually appointed by the President. The maximum allowed in 1902 was 492. In 1816 provision was made by Congress for the appointment of a Board of Visitors, and since that time such a board has annually visited the academy and reported the results of its observations to the Secretary of War. The act provides that this board shall be present at the June examinations of the cadets, and they are also required to investigate the manner in which the affairs of the academy are conducted. Strange as it may appear, no graduate of West Point ever attained the rank and discharged the duties of even brigadier-general prior to the Civil War in 1861. Political ambition and influence managed to secure or control appointments as brigadier or major-generals in the war of 1812, in the Mexican War and in the Indian wars which were constantly going on, during the first half of the nineteenth century. Military distinction was then looked upon as the surest passport and most direct road to the various grades of political preferment. The names and experiences of Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Zackery Taylor and many others of lesser note who might be mentioned and who became distinguished in the various walks, and enjoyed the emoluments of political life, and who had achieved military success on the battlefield, were always present in the minds of aspiring young men of that period. Opportunities for entering the military service were then sought for as eagerly as young men are now striving to secure large fortunes in banking, commercial, mining, transportation and other lines of business. The graduates of West Point were thus kept in the background, not because their skill, ability and usefulness were not recognized, but for lack of political influence. Their services were in great demand by brigadier and major-generals, like Winfield Scott and others, whose victories were in large measure, if not entirely, due to the skill displayed in the conduct of the military operations under their charge by the graduates of the West Point Military Academy. Testimony of the strongest character to this effect is to be found in the history of the country, during that period, or from the war of 1812 to 1861. Prior to the war of 1812 but sixty-five cadets had been graduated from West Point, but during that war these

graduates rendered invaluable services, chiefly as engineers in the construction of fortifications, roads, bridges and other works requiring engineering skill, but many also contributed to the success of American arms, and illustrated the bravery of American troops on many a field of battle. The report of the Board of Visitors to West Point in 1848 shows that of the whole number of graduates from 1802 to 1847, aggregating 1365, there were killed in the war with England, 10; in the Florida War, 12; in the Mexican War, 46. In the Mexican War ninety-two graduates were wounded, and in the same war 452 brevets were conferred upon graduates for gallant and meritorious conduct. But it was during the Civil War that the value and importance of the West Point education and training were amply demonstrated. This war furnished a test of the capacity of the men engaged in it, which was extraordinarily severe. All the qualifications of manhood possessed by both sides were fully brought out, whether of knowledge, skill, ability, courage or endurance. Here the West Point graduate clearly vindicated his claim to superiority in organizing men and leading them to victory. In its earlier stages political influences brought to the front and placed in important commands men without military education or experience, but the losses suffered in men and material, in esprit de corps, and in public esteem, resulted in their retirement, and at its close the list of generals in the regular army was entirely made up of graduates from West Point.

Of the graduates who were living when that war commenced 89 per cent. served actively in the Union or in the Confederate Army, and of those 73 per cent. were in the Union Army.

Of those in civil life when that war commenced 55 per cent. re-entered the army, about one-half on each side. Of these graduates in the Union Army, one (Grant) rose to the grade of Lieutenant-General, six became major-generals and one hundred and twelve to brigadier-generals of volunteers, or more than one-third of those engaged rose to the grade of general officers. Nine graduates received the thanks of Congress for gallant and meritorious service on the field of battle. In the Confederate Army eight graduates became full generals, fifteen lieutenant-generals, forty major-generals and eighty-eight brigadier-generals. Of the lieutenant-generals in the Confederate Army there were only two who were not graduates.

It very soon became apparent in the Civil War that the issues at stake were too far-reaching and momentous to be entrusted to political expediency, ignorance or incompetency. West Point

stood forth justified for all that it claimed and had cost the country, and thenceforth there was no question as to its support and maintenance as a national institution. Its cost was, and is, a mere bagatelle compared with its benefits to the country at large. It is not necessary to refer to similar experiences in the Spanish and Philippine Wars, the episode in China, and other recent developments. Some months ago I was appointed by the President a member of the Board of Visitors to West Point for the year 1905, and it became my pleasant duty to accept the proffered place and undertake the discharge of the duties connected therewith. In accordance with the acts of Congress relating thereto, as contained in sections 1327, 1328 and 1329 of the Revised Statutes, "It is made the duty of the Board of Visitors to inquire into the actual state of the discipline, instruction, police administration, fiscal affairs and other concerns of the institutions, and to report the same to the Secretary of War for the information of Congress." Few spots in America are more interesting to the student of history, topography or military affairs. It is not strange, therefore, that a man who so thoroughly represents American ideas, and who is in all respects so practical in his character as President Roosevelt, should make this military academy the object of his particular care and attention. It was no doubt very gratifying to him to be able to say, among other things, in his address at the Cetennial Celebration held at West Point in June, 1902, that "this institution has completed its first hundred years of life. During that century no other educational institution in this land has contributed so many names as West Point to the honor roll of the nation's greatest citizens. The average graduate of West Point during these hundred years has given a greater sum of service to the country through his life than has the average graduate of any other institution in this broad land."

Every intelligent man familiar with the facts in the case will endorse these emphatic expressions. In the appointment or reappointment of Brigadier-General A. L. Mills as superintendent of the academy, President Roosevelt would appear to have been unusually fortunate. General Mills is beyond doubt the right man in the right place to conduct an institution, so that the best practical results may be secured. He brings to the discharge of his trying and responsible duties not only the tact, knowledge and discrimination, but that enthusiasm which is necessary to secure success in any and every business, trade and occupation. On the battlefield of Sanitago, where he was supposed to have

been mortally wounded, he displayed in his own person and experience the qualities of a true soldier. The other members of the Board of Visitors appointed by the President for 1905 were Joseph C. Cannon, of Illinois; John Schroers, of Missouri; Charles F. Brooker, of Connecticut; Dudley Evans, of New York; Dr. George L. Magruder, of Washington, D. C., and ex-Governor Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey. Appointed by the United States Senate—Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, and Charles A. Culberson, of Texas. By the Speaker of the House of Representatives—Washington Gardner, of Michigan; John J. Esch, of Wisconsin, and James L. Slayden, of Texas.

The board met on the 1st day of June and organized, by the election of Franklin Murphy as president and John Schroers as secretary. The proper committees were appointed, which proceeded at once to take up the work assigned them. The various departments of the academy were visited, accompanied by the officers who had been detailed to assist the board in its investigations. The water supply and its sources were examined. The buildings were inspected and the barracks occupied by the cadets carefully gone over. The barracks were found to be old, out of date, without plumbing or conveniences of any modern character. Plans for new buildings throughout were prepared several years ago at any estimated cost of $6,500,000, and an appropriation looking thereto of $1,500,000 had already been made, and one of the most important duties of the board at this time was to examine and approve these plans, in whole or in part, as it might deem expedient. The necessity for new buildings was at once apparent. Not only are many of the present buildings antequated and unsanitary, but they are altogether inadequate for the largely increased number of cadets, professors and instructors. The full complement of cadets at present is 520, which is increased whenever new states are admitted into the Union. The number of officers, professors and instructors now aggregates ninety-four, for all of whom quarters must be provided. The course of instruction, which lasts four years, is extremely strenuous. From 6 o'clock in the morning until 9:30 in the evening there is not a moment which is not fully occupied, either with recitations, drills on foot or on horseback, athletic exercises or other important requirements. A rigid system of markings is constantly kept up, no shortcomings in any particular are allowed to pass unnoticed, and any considerable number of demerits becomes a serious matter for the unfortunate cadet. The value of time is fully impressed upon all concerned, and

promptness in the performance of every duty and exercise becomes a positive necessity. One result of this admirable system is the enforcement and cultivation of a love of order, of neatness and preparation for future requirements or contingencies, which constitute an invaluable part of the training at West Point. After a careful investigation of the methods in practice here, the members of the board were fully convinced that as a military school, for all practical purposes, West Point has no equal in the world, and it is not strange that after such a training as is furnished here to the flower of American youth the results in the past should have been so magnificent, and they believe that its promise for the future justifies any reasonable expenditure of money for its proper maintenance. The board therefore approved, for the present, plans for new buildings required in the sum of $5,500,000, believing that further appropriations will be made by Congress without any hesitation when the necessities of the academy are made fully known. The board also recommended an increase in the minimum of the standard of physical requirements; that the height of applicants for admission be increased above five feet and three inches, its present minimum, with corresponding increase of weight and other necessary conditions. It was believed that the very best only of the young men of the country, physically and in all other respects, should be admitted in order that a maximum of results might be achieved.

In view of the important events recently transpiring in the Orient, chiefly growing out of the war between Russia and Japan and possible complications hereafter involving our own country, I introduced a resolution suggesting that the curriculum should include instruction in the Japanese language and literature, but it was not favorably considered, partly because the time of the cadets was already fully occupied. A resolution to introduce the study of Latin by Senator Culberson was passed, asking the Academic Board in charge of the course of study to consider the possibility or the advisability of introducing the study of the Latin language. A noticeable feature of the administration at West Point is the absolutely impartial manner in which all cadets are treated, no matter what their origin or connections. The son of the general of the army has no more favors shown him than any other cadet, but implicit obedience to all rules and regulations is required in every instance. Another feature to be commended was the excellent horsemanship and the remarkable skill in athletics displayed by the upper classes. These exercises are calculated to bring to the highest degree of perfec-

tion attainable the physical qualities possessed by the cadets. In sword exercises, gymnastics and physical culture the academy is fortunate in having the services of Lieutenant Herman J. Koehler, who is probably without a rival in these branches of a military education.

After the experiences of more than one hundred years the Academy has been enabled to secure, it may be said, by a course of natural selection a most admirable corps of officers, professors and instructors, thoroughly equipped for the discharge of their various duties, so that never before in its history has the institution been so well prepared to carry out the purposes for which it was created as at the present day. This official corps is not only thoroughly qualified for its arduous duties, but it seems also to be fully impressed with the responsibility of the task committed to its charge. At the same time it may be said that never before has its work been so highly appreciated or the value and importance thereof been better understood by the people of the United States.

The yearly examinations and the work of the Board of Vsitors for the year 1905 were concluded on the 13th of June by an address before the graduating class, one hundred and fourteen in number, and a large body of distinguished guests, by ex-Governor Murphy, the president of the board, and by the presentation to the graduates of their diplomas by the Secretary of War, Hon. William H. Taft. Addresses were also made by General Chaffee, the commanding general of the army, and by the French ambassador.

The time has not yet arrived when men with impunity everywhere can beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, but until it does come it is believed that this academy will continue to deserve the high place it has heretofore occupied in the confidence and esteem of our country and the world, and will discharge its useful and honorable functions

> "Till the war-drums throbbed no longer,
> And the battle-flags were furled;
> In the Parliament of Man,
> The Federation of the World."

WILLIAM F. PROSSER.

THE MILITARY ROADS OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

Fifty years ago the War Department of the general government was deeply interested in roads to the newly-created Territory of Washington, from California through Oregon, and from Minnesota and other Eastern points by Fort Benton; also in a system of roads in the territory connecting the various military posts thereof. The principal one of these roads or routes was for a railroad from the sources of the Mississippi River to Puget Sound. This contemplated the survey of a route for a future railroad, the idea being to ascertain the feasability and desirability of a line with a view to the construction not long after of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The rapid development of the Pacific Coast country was making imperative closer connection with the States of the Mississippi Valley and those of the Atlantic beyond. Congress directed the War Department to make the preliminary surveys, along different lines north, south and central, and in accordance therewith, early in 1853, the different enterprises were placed in the hands of military engineers—Captain Gunnison, Lieutenant Whipple, Lieutenant Williamson, Lieutenant Parke and Captain Pope. The greatest of these undertakings, perhaps, was the northern, which was entrusted to an ex-engineer, Major Isaac I. Stevens, who had just resigned his commission in the army to accept another commission from President Pierce as governor of Washington Territory. For the surveys under Stevens, Whipple and Gunnison one hundred and twenty thousand dollars was appropriated, in three equal parts of forty thousand each. For the other surveys the money allowances were smaller. Stevens not only had the surveys in hand, but as Governor had to organize and set in motion the Territorial government, and as Superintendent of Indian Affairs had to make himself acquainted with the Indians along the route, and enter into treaties with the various tribes of Blackfeet, Sioux, Flatheads, Nez Perces and others whom he might meet on the way.

To assist Governor Stevens in this undertaking, Captain George B. McClellan, Captain J. W. T. Gardiner, Captain Joseph Roberts, Lieutenant Johnson K. Duncan, Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, Lieutenant Cuvier Grover, Lieutenant John Mullan and Lieutenant A. J. Donelson were assigned to the service, all with

the main party except Captain McClellan, who was given a semi-independent assignment at the western end, and of which, by the way, he made almost complete failure. Several of these men subsequently rose to positions of great distinction in the military service, becoming generals, and noted throughout the length and breadth of the land. In addition to these military men Governor Stevens was given a strong escort party and a scientific corps, besides teamsters, laborers, cooks and others.

Stevens was directed to explore "the passes of the Cascade Range and of the Rocky Mountains from the forty-ninth parallel to the headwaters of the Missouri River, and to determine the capacity of the adjacent country to supply, and of the Columbia and Missouri Rivers to transport, materials for the construction of the road, great attention being given to the geography and meteorology, generally, of the whole intermediate region; the seasons and character of its freshets, the quantities and continuance of its rains and snows, especially in the mountain ranges; to its geology in arid regions, keeping particularly in view the bringing of water to the surface by means of artesian wells; its botany, natural history, agricultural and mineral resources; the location, numbers, history, traditions and customs of its Indian tribes, and such other facts as shall tend to develop the character of that portion of our national domain and supply all the facts which enter into the solution of the particular problem of a railroad." He was to begin at St. Paul, going by the way of the mouth of Yellowstone River. After completion of the field examinations, reports were to be prepared at some point in Washington Territory, and forwarded to Washington City for presentation to Congress and publication. The instructions were from Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War.

Governor Stevens gathered around him a company of clever young men separate from the military, who as civil engineers, scientists and clerks rendered first-class service during the expedition, and who enabled the Governor to prepare a report covering in excellent manner every desirable phase and feature of the tremendous task placed upon him. This report became historic, for a quarter of a century following being quoted and availed of in the railroad undertakings of the Northwest and North Pacific regions. It demonstrated the practicability of the proposed northern road, and made plain the great possibilities for traffic and for the sustenance of a great population of the country through which the northern line must and would pass.

Captain McClellan was given two undertakings in the road

enterprises of that year. He was directed to survey from the western end, exploring the Cascade Mountains, doing a work that it was supposed Stevens would be unable personally to do owing to lack of time. Ten officers and thirty soldiers were placed at his command, and in a general way it was ordered that every other assistance be given to him that he needed. In addition to this assignment, he was, on the 9th of May, 1853, directed to undertake the opening and construction of a military road from Walla Walla to Steilacoom, "under the general directions of Governor I. I. Stevens." Congress had made a generous appropriation for this road—$20,000, I believe—the previous January. McClellan was ordered to survey and locate the proposed road, and to enter into contracts with responsible persons for the construction. He was urged to make haste, so that the road might be opened in season for the fall immigration. If unable to do this he was instructed "to fix the line of the road, especially through the Cascade Mountains, and to perform such work on the most difficult portions as will enable the immigrants to render the route practicable by their own exertions, detaching a suitable person as guide and director to meet them at Walla Walla." Further, he was told, if he deemed it advisable, "to let out different portions of the road, or different kinds of work, on separate contracts. On account of the peculiar nature of the work you may find it advisable, instead of contracting for the performance of a specified amount of work, to contract for the supply of the necessary laborers and tools, taking precautions to secure good ones. In any event, you will so arrange your operations as, first, to secure a practicable wagon road between the extremities of the road, devoting the remainder of the funds at your disposal to the improvement of the more important points, always endeavoring to make the whole road a good one."

Of this task McClellan also made an entire failure. He expended in unknown ways much of the money, but as far as the citizens and immigrants were aware not a dollar in actual road construction. Nor were the immigrants met at Walla Walla by a guide from him as so explicitly directed. The statement in his instructions, "It is important that this road should be opened in season for the fall immigration; you will, therefore, use every exertion to do so," meant to and with him absolutely nothing.

Knowing of this appropriation, knowing of the fostering care of the government in such matters, and knowing, too, of the immigration from the Mississippi Valley heading for Puget Sound, the people who had come before—in 1852 and previous years—

began to prepare for the making more easy the last hundred miles of the long and trying journey—the hundred miles in the Cascade Mountains. Money was given by the generous citizens, chiefly of Pierce and Thurston Counties, in amounts ranging from $5 to $100, and in the aggregate to about $1,200. Others gave provisions, animals, tools and all employed gave time and labor. Edward J. Allen, of Olympia, still living, a respected citizen of Pittsburg, Pa., headed the party of road-makers, who went into the woods and with the limited means at their command endeavored to make a way by the Naches Pass that the worn-out men and teams from the East could use in the last days of their five months and two thousand miles of travel. They were so engaged during the month of September. Under the urgency impressed upon him, and the liberal instructions given him, by Secretary of War Davis, Captain McClellan would have been justified in freely co-operating with Allen and his associates, employing, paying and directing them, and making a road that would have been a credit to him and a blessing to the one hundred and sixty men, women and children who soon after struggled and suffered terribly in the final effort to get to the Western settlements and the end of their long and trying undertaking. But McClellan was slow; he did not come when wanted, and when he finally arrived on the scene he was too late to be of use. He took a look at the mountains, found snow on them, concluded they were too high for him to get over, and relinquished the task to Stevens. He made a trip into Yakima Valley, visited Fort Steilacoom, was paddled in an Indian canoe down the Sound, and went back East. He let no contract for the road, or any part of it, though he expended in unknown ways a considerable portion of the Congressional appropriation. His shortcomings and failure were a bitter disappointment to the people. The following year the work of road building that had been assigned to McClellan was intrusted to Lieutenant Richard Arnold, by the Secretary of War, under the especial direction of Governor Stevens. He left Steilacoom May 23rd, 1854, traveled over the road opened the previous season, and made a reconnaissance of the entire route to Walla Walla. He adopted as far as possible the route of Allen chosen the year before, beginning where Allen left off, and continuing to the east until the money at his command was exhausted. Arnold was not pleased with the route, and he recommended that another be chosen to the north in the event of further appropriations. He was also convinced that the course along the Naches

River had but few advantages, if any at all. When it is stated that the immigrants of 1853 crossed the Naches River sixty-eight times on their way up the valley and mountains, the reader will be impressed with the idea that Mr. Arnold's objection to that portion of the route was well founded. The Lieutenant reported the distance from Steilacoom to the summit of the mountains to be 79¼ miles; to Wenass, 137¼ miles; to Yakima River mouth, 217¼ miles, and to a point on Columbia River opposite Walla Walla, 234½ miles. He concluded his official report with the paragraph following:

"Before closing this report, I would urgently recommend that an additional appropriation of ten thousand dollars be made. This amount properly applied, in connection with what has already been expended, will give to the work a permanence and stability that it justly demands, even at the present time, as the only military and commercial thoroughfare into this portion of the Territory from the East over which the overland immigration must pass; and more particularly when the valleys of the numerous tributaries of the Columbia are settled, and when towns on Puget Sound, now in their infancy, shall be classed among the first in importance on the Pacific. On my first reconnaissance I was fully convinced that the unexpended balance of the appropriation was totally inadequate to construct a military road; and I had, consequently, directed my attention to the most important points, and so distributed the work throughout the route that an additional appropriation could be applied in the best manner possible. The parts requiring particular attention have been previously mentioned. I would also recommend that the amount expended by the citizens of the Territory in 1853 be refunded. The greater part of the road cut by them from Steilacoom to the mountains has been adopted. But for this I do not believe the work could have been carried forward so satisfactorily."

The general government never afterwards did anything for the Naches road. Later surveys, and public sentiment, perhaps, caused a transferance of official favor to the Snoqualmie Pass and route, for which recommendation of appropriation of $100,000 was made by military officers in 1859-60-61 for a road from Seattle to connect with the Fort Benton and Walla Walla road. No money was ever given, however, in accordance with this suggestion. This road, via Snoqualmie, it was said, "would open direct communication between Puget Sound and the head-waters of the Missouri River, it would likewise afford a good wagon road connection with Fort Colville, on the upper Columbia River." The estimated length of this proposed road was 250

miles, and the cost of the recommended improvement $400 per mile.

In 1856-57 the government opened a road from Columbia Barracks, as Fort Vancouver then was sometimes called, to Fort Dalles, in Oregon. The work was done chiefly under the direction of Lieutenant George H. Derby. It was a wagon road, and in summer was quite good. In places it was planked, and in other wet places corduroyed and graveled. As a support against the river there was some cribwork. It was said, officially, that a six-mule team could haul two tons over it, "and as the rate of transportation of the private company over the portage was $15 per ton, and a team can easily make two trips per day, it will readily be seen that the public interests are much advanced by the construction of this road." A couple of years later $76,000 was asked for the further improvement of this road, at the rate of $800 per mile.

From Columbia Barracks (or Vancouver) to Fort Steilacoom was another road enterprise of the government's in the early days. There never was a good wagon road from Puget Sound to Columbia River. The trials and troubles of those who crossed the country were never forgotten by them. The first road there of which we have record was that cut by Michael T. Simmons, W. O. Bush and others, in 1845, when they came to settle—the first American citizens—on Puget Sound. They were enabled to get over it, and that was about all. Its condition was not materially changed or improved for more than ten years, and then but slightly by the opening of the military road. In 1856, under Lieutenant George H. Mendell, contracts were let to L. J. Tower and L. H. Davis for a piece of road from Cowlitz Landing to Ford's Prairie, about twenty-five miles, and for another piece, eight miles long, from Henness to Yelm Prairie. These works were finished in 1857, $40,000 being expended, and the line or road opened to Fort Steilacoom in 1857. In dry weather, with careful driving, there was then a passable way from Cowlitz Plains to Puget Sound. Henry Winsor was soon carrying mail and passengers, and after him L. A. Davis, M. R. Tilley, Charles Coggan and others. Traffic slowly and continually increased, four and six-horse stages being run. The common passage rate was $20, and it was hardly possible to go from Olympia to Portland for less than $30, three days being the usual time, and sometimes four or five. Baggage was taken for seven cents a pound, and freight for five—for the stage trip only. Occasionally there were opposition wagons, when rates would

temporarily fall. There was constant demand for improvement of the service. Fault-finding was loud and unceasing. In fact, old settlers heard so much of it, particularly from the new comers, that the unpleasant noise has hardly yet stopped buzzing in their ears and annoying them. From Cowlitz Landing to Monticello transportation was by canoe, and for freight there was a charge of $40 per ton for thirty miles of service. From Portland to Monticello steamboats were employed. Between steamboats, canoes and wagons the costs were numerous and onerous enough, farmers being severely taxed by them, while travelers always supposed they were robbed and knew that they had been half killed in transit. In 1858 seventeen miles of road were built on the west bank of the Cowlitz. At that time Congress was petitioned for $10,000 more to complete the road to Monticello, and $40,000 for continuance of the road to Vancouver. The smaller request was granted, and the money expended in 1860-61 on the way from Monticello north. At the best the way was little more than a trail, and in fact was often so called. Until the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1871-72 the travel conditions were anything but pleasant between Puget Sound and the Columbia River.

In 1859 the idea of another wagon road was evolved by the military authorities. It was described as "from the mouth of Columbia River, via head of Puget Sound, to Fort Townsend, at the head of Straits of Juan de Fuca." The projected road was one hundred and seventy five miles long, and it was supposed that it could be built for $500 per mile, or $87,500. This suggestion was renewed the following year, but the coming on of the War of Rebellion, and the more urgent necessity for money expenditures elsewhere, prevented the opening of roads in the Territory thereafter by the federal government. Such undertakings were left wholly to the people in the country concerned from that time on.

Congress, by act of March 3rd, 1857, provided for a road from Fort Steilacoom to Fort Bellingham. Lieutenant Mendell had charge of this work. He employed a well-known local engineer, W. W. Delacy, and started him on the work in August. The country then was so densely timbered that pack animals could not be used, and Delacy engaged Indians instead, arrangements also being made for other Indians and canoes on the Snohomish and Skagit Rivers. The surveys were prosecuted to a finish and contracts let for construction. In 1859 a trail was well under way, from Seattle to Bellingham, the estimated cost

being $42,500, $5,000 for bridges and work south of Seattle. and $2,500 for engineering and incidental expenses. To make a good road of it $50,000 more was asked in 1860. There are yet traces of the road then built in the limits of the City of Seattle. Locally it was known as "the military road" for a generation; in fact, it is even yet occasionally so designated. In 1859, when the military were active on Puget Sound, and war with Great Britain seemed imminent over the disputed ownership of San Juan Island, Colonel J. J. Abert, the topographical engineer in charge, reported to Secretary Floyd that "this road is a military necessity; its completion would also induce settlement along the shore of Puget Sound."

The greatest of all the road projects in Washington Territory, however, was the one that included the line from Fort Benton, on the Missouri River, to Fort Walla Walla, on the Columbia. This was entrusted to Lieutenant John Mullan, who had it in hand for a number of years. He was making his start upon it in 1858, when the Indians of Eastern Washington became hostile, and vigorous war was made upon them by Colonel George Wright, Mullan changed his field, and participated in the campaign as topographical officer. The Indians being beaten and peace restored, Mullan made a beginning on the road in the summer and fall of 1859. He cut his way through the timber, blasted obstructing rocks, bridged the streams, and moved on to the north and east quite rapidly. In 1860 he was still engaged in the work, though then on the eastern section. During the two seasons he completed the surveys and construction for the entire 633 miles, Walla Walla and Benton were selected as the terminal points because they were both on navigable rivers, with steamboat service. Much was hoped from this road in aiding movements of soldiers and immigrants, as well as in the control of the Indians; but, as in the case of the military highways generally, disappointment in these respects was the result. The War of the Rebellion, the gold mines of Idaho and Montana, the sudden opening and development of the country, the coming not long after of railroads, the overpowering and speedy subjugation of the Indians, these and other things so changed the conditions that the military roads lost their relative importance, and the anticipated results of their building were not realized. It is well, however, to give full credit to the army officers for their good intentions. If they had had their way the Pacific Coast country would have been supplied with a system of wagon roads of the best character, permeating it in all directions, and

rendering travel through it by carriage easy and comfortable in the extreme. That their efforts were not more successful was due to causes they could not control, and was a loss to the people of Washington Territory well understood and deeply regretted by them at the time.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

WHY AND HOW JAPANESE HISTORY MAY BE STUDIED WITH PROFIT IN AMERICA.

History of Japan is so little known abroad that one is obliged to argue for its more extensive study. It has been said that, had the Russians possessed an insight into the national life of Japan, the recent war would probably have never taken place. However that may be, that here in America the general understanding of the history and the character of the Japanese people is too inadequate for the increasing importance of the relations of the two nations, has been growing painfully evident in recent years. A better knowledge is imperative, for the welfare of the nations.

Aside from this practical need, however, the student of historical science will find in Japan's history many points of general and abiding interest. Institutionally, for example, Japan began her national career as a patriarchal state, with the emperor at the apex of the organization. Internal and external circumstances conspired to make this system untenable in the seventh century, when the State was reorganized after the model of the centralized bureaucracy of the T'ang Empire of China. This artificial reform was followed by five centuries of a gradual unforeseen transformation of society, in which a process similar to the feudalization of Western Europe in the early middle ages took place under similar circumstances and upon similar principles. Finally, in 1185, feudal institutions were recognized by the emperor as the ruling machinery of the State. For the next four hundred years the system continued to develop, and in 1600 culminated in the elaborate feudal polity of the Tokugawa shogun. After seven centuries of well-nigh unbroken rule, feudalism, too, proved untenable, in the nineteenth century, under foreign pressure and internal unrest. It was overthrown, in 1868, by the united force of the imperial force from above and of discontented feudal elements from within, and was succeeded by a period of an active adaptation of European institutions. It is unnecessary to say that the transition from the partiarchal to the bureaucratic, from the latter to the feudal, and thence again to the constitutional form of government, has been attended by corresponding social and economic changes. At every step the student meets lessons of universal import, some of which may even serve to elucidate, either by similarity or by contrast, certain great features of occidental history.

To some persons, the moral and spiritual growth of Japan may seem even more interesting than the institutional. Here again are seen alternate periods of eager receptivity, assimilation and original expression. Japan's national cult, later called shinto, took its form before the coming of the continental civilization of Asia, and, together with the emperorship, with which the cult was closely bound, became a permanent heritage of the nation. Indian thought and Chinese culture, which began to pour in from the sixth century, elevated the tone of the ruling classes, and inspired the vigorous artistic activity of the eighth and ninth centuries. This was followed by several hundred years of practical isolation from the continent, in which the refinement introduced in the previous age was gradually assimilated to the life of the higher society. By the eleventh century, even Buddhism had become largely Japanese in its doctrine and ritual, and the Buddhist church had grown to be a commanding economic and political force of the Empire. Then came a tremendous reaction from the feudal classes, which had been forming themselves in the country at large and became the controling power of the nation at the end of the twelfth century. The rise of these classes coincided with the coming from China of a new form of Buddhism and Buddhist art, the simplicity and vigor of which responded to the robust spirit of the warriors. These men of arms, with their rough but keen sense of honor, fashioned the moral tone of the new age. From 1600, the feudal rulers for the first time found in Confucianism, which had come to Japan more than ten centuries before, the best exponent of the actual ethical relations of the feudal society, and utilized its precepts for the purpose of formulating the warrior's code of morals. From this time, also, during a new period of foreign exclusion, the general culture and arts of life were greatly diversified and were widely diffused among all classes of people. Unity of culture was again broken when, in the middle of the last century, Japan was forcibly brought under the influence of European science and Christianity. These new elements she has as yet hardly had time to digest. One who follows these successive periods of Japanese culture will find forms of art and modes of life that typify each epoch and are never successfully reproduced in another age. Every period also presents innumerable problems for fruitful study.

If one tried to study these or any other aspects of Japanese history from literature written in European languages, he would be disappointed to find, among the great mass of works that

have been produced, that only half a dozen important sources have been translated. It is not impracticable for him, however, to acquire some degree of knowledge by selected readings from the vast literature. For general history, for example, he may read Brinkley[1] or Mazeliere,[2] with the aid of the indispensable Dictionaire by Papinot.[3] After this preliminary work, he may limit his attention to some special topic, and acquiant himself with works in that field which are mentioned in Wenckstern's Bibliography.[4] Whatever his subject may be, however, he may do well to consult publications of the Asiatic Society of Japan,[5] of the Japan Society at London,[6] and of the Deutsche Gessellschaft fur die Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens.[7] As to the monographs on special topics, there are few that are not mentioned in Wenckstern, while their relative value will readily be judged by any trained student. It would be impossible here to enumerate even the best works on all the larger phases of history.

The historical sources in the original language are at present the only reliable material for a satisfactory investigation in any important field. To those who can use them I am happy to say that they will find in the Library of Congress and Yale University Library larger and better selected collections of Japanese historical material than at any other place out of Japan. The nature of the more than nine thousand works kept at the Library of Congress has been briefly described by me in the Librarian's annual report for 1907, and it is only necessary here to point out that they are particularly strong in the historical geography, and in the history of the religions and of the general culture of Japan. The Yale collection, which consists of about an equal number of works, is specially rich in original sources, and also

[1]Captain F. Brinkley. Oriental Series: Japan, Its History, Art and Literature. In 12 vols. See vols. 1-4. Boston, 1901-2.

[2]Marquis de la Mazeliere: Le Japon; Histoire et Civilisation. In 5 vols. Vols. 1-3 already published. Paris, 1907.

[3]E. Papinot: Dictionaire d'Histoire et de Geographie du Japon. 2d Edition. Tokyo, etc., 1907. The author writes me that an English edition of this work is forthcoming.

[4]Fr. von Wenckstern: A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire. 2 vols. Vol. 1, Leiden, etc., 1895, and vol. 2, Tokyo, etc., 1907.

[5]Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan; published irregularly since 1872. Tokyo.

[6]Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society; published irregularly since 1893. London.

[7]Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft fur Natur—und Volkerkunde Ostasiens, since 1873. Tokyo.

Also see the Revue Francaise du Japon, monthly, since 1892, Tokyo; and articles on Japan in the Comtes-rendus of the Congres International des Etudes d' Extreme Orient, since 1873; the T'oung Pao, since 1890, Leiden; and the Ostasien, monthly, since 1898, Berlin.

in material on two branches of history, namely, institutions and art. The sources may be divided into four classes. Under the first may be mentioned inscriptions of monuments in stone and metal, including a few rubbings from the original.[1] The second class comprises original documents. They cover all the period since the early eighth century, including, besides a large number of transcriptions[2] and fac similes, not a few actual documents.[3] Under the third class comes an unusually large number of annals, memoirs and diaries, of all historic ages,[6] all of which are among the fundamental sources of history. While these are mainly of political nature, a few relate to religious institutions[4] and to foreign relations.[5] The last class is quite a com-

[1]These inscriptions, together with seals and signatures, fac-similes of many of which are among the collection at the Library of Congress, form an important class of sources. While the contents of the inscriptions are in many cases too favorable to their subjects to be trustworthy, they often throw important sidelight upon history, and otherwise are valuable sources for social, literary and artistic history.

[2]Among these is the most valuable selection, entitled Ko-bun rei-shu, made from a vast number of documents (mostly relating to land property) kept at the Buddhist temple To-zhi, by (and probably in the autograph of) the historian Ban Nobutomo. The Dai Nihon ko-mon-zho, edited by the Historiographic Institute, Imperial University of Tokyo, which is expected to be completed in two hundred volumes, is regularly coming to Yale.

[3]Among these may be mentioned a Buddhist scroll, copied in the eighth century [the Library of Congress owning four scrolls of this period]; an almanac, with diary, of 1423-24; twenty documents of the latter part of the fifteenth century; many documents relating to the municipal government of Kyoto from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, etc.

[6]The records of this class may be divided as follows: (1) Diaries of civil nobles of Kyoto. Owing to the important fact that the central institution of the Japanese State, namely, the Emperorship, has been constant and immovable throughout the ages, there has clustered around that institution a permanent class of civil nobility. The nobles possessed a degree of culture and refinement, and many of them methodically kept diaries. As may be expected, some of these diaries, depicting, as they do, men and things at the center of culture and power, are among the best-prized sources of political and social history. During the feudal ages, when political powers descended to feudal classes, the nobles' records sometimes reveal the relation between the Emperor and the feudal suzerain. (2) Records of the feudal classes before 1600 are fewer in number, but are not less important, than the diaries of Kyoto nobles. Feudal records multiply rapidly after 1600. (3) Diaries of some great Buddhist priests during the feudal ages, who were on intimate terms with feudal authorities, are highly valuable. (4) Japan is exceptionally rich in that class of literature which is known in that country under the name "zui-hitsu." It consists of notes on all sorts of miscellaneous subjects, very often written down with little apparent order in arrangement. There are an endless number of these scrappy works, sometimes extended over hundreds of chapters, and often containing exceedingly valuable first-hand information.

[4]Such as the Soku-kyo hen, relating to the suppression of Catholicism, in 22 vols., and the Otani Hon-gwan-zhi tsu-ki, a history of the Buddhist temple West Hongwan-zhi, 7 vols. The latter has been copied from the original at the temple, and at the time of copying there was no other copy extant. [The Library of Congress has the Ko-ya-san fu-do-ki, a history of the Buddhist monastery on Mt. Koya, in about one hundred volumes, specially copied from the original at the monastery.] These Buddhist institutions were great historical factors.

[5]E. g., the Cho-sen tsu-ko tai-ki, Korean Relations, 10 vols. Specially copied.

prehensive set of illustrated books[6] and scrolls,[7] from which such aspects of social life as can hardly be studied from verbal descriptions may be gathered. Although works of historical geography are not so numerous as at the Library of Congress, the more than a thousand topographical maps which were presented to Yale by the Japanese Army and Navy Departments and Geological Bureau will be found to be highly valuable in the study of old history. Works on law and institutions are specially numerous, the collector having made a particular effort in this field, as in the field of art. Another department, history of commerce, though incompletely, is better represented than in any Japanese library that I have seen. It is needless to say that such helpmates of history as archeology, numismatics, religion, literature, customs and manners, etiquettes and rites, weapons and arts of war, heraldry, genealogy, etc., as well as works of reference, are also represented. It should be understood that many of the works already described are not on the market, and the majority are in manuscript, not a few, perhaps not less than sixty works in 1000 fascicules, including the best works, having been specially copied in different parts of the country from the original and otherwise good copies. Special effort was made to secure a fair collection of photographs and other forms of reproduction of art, for the reason that these objects seem in many cases to represent, not only in their subject-matters, but also in the detail of their execution, the spirit of the periods in which they were produced. The earlier specimens have the additional interest that they prove the existence of an indirect Greek and Western Asiatic influence upon Japanese culture. The present collection has been made with these ideas in view. It consists of hundreds of photographs, rubbings, fac simile reproductions and technical studies of details, many of these being specially made by experts.

After this brief description of the Yale and still briefer reference to the Library of Congress collection, it is fair to say that each of the collections is far from being complete. Yet the student might spend some of his time to great advantage and, as regards certain subjects, to much satisfaction, with the Japanese material at Washington and New Haven.

K. ASAKAWA, Ph. D.

[6]E. g., the Zhin-rin kin-mo dzu-i, 6 vols., showing different occupations of the people during the flourishing period of the Tokugawa rule. [The Library of Congress has a large number of works of this kind.]

[7]These scrolls are hand written, and some of them are among the most highly valued sources of history. [The Library of Congress possesses many scrolls not duplicated at Yale.]

HEROES AND HEROINES OF THE LONG AGO.*

"I came to you over the trail of many moons from the setting sun. You were the friend of my fathers, who have all gone the long way. I came with one eye partly opened, for more light for my people who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people? I made my way to you with strong arms, through many enemies and strange lands, that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. The two fathers who came with me—the braves of many winters and wars—we leave asleep here by your great water. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out. My people sent me to get the white man's Book from Heaven. You took me where you allow your women to dance, as we do not ours, and the Book was not there. You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with candles, and the Book was not there. You showed me the images of good spirits and pictures of the Good Land beyond, but the Book was not among them. I am going back the long, sad trail to my people of the dark land. You make my feet heavy with burdens of gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them. When I tell my poor, blind people, after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go on the long path to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book to make the way plain. I have no more words."

These were the words that saved Old Oregon and the Pacific Northwest to the government of the United States.

Seventy-five years ago four Nez Perces Indians made a horseback journey of 2,000 miles to St. Louis to learn of the white man's God and the Book of Heaven. During the winter which they spent there, two of them died, and the remaining two were preparing to return the following spring, when one of them was reported to have made the foregoing speech. This is said to have been taken down at the time by one of the clerks in the Indian office and was sent East and published in the religious papers of the Atlantic Coast with ringing editorials. It so fired the hearts of a few devoted, earnest Christian men and women that they answered the call and came West.

The authenticity of this incident has been questioned, but General Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and George

*Address at ceremonies before the Whitman grave, Nov. 29, 1907.

Catlin, the famous painter of Indian portraits, and who painted the likeness of the two surviving Indians, which are now in the Museum of Indian Portraits in Washington City, are authority for the truth of the statement that this was the object of their visit. It is possible that this may have been a free translation of what he said, and slightly embellished, although it bears the marks of true Indian eloquence. Of the substantial fact, however, that the four Indians went East for that purpose, that one of them made it known in this way, and that it influenced the early missionaries to come to Oregon, there is little reason to doubt.

Early in 1834 Reverends Jason and Daniel Lee, accompanied by two laymen, one named Cyrus Shepard and the other P. L. Edwards, started West and made the journey overland across the continent to bring to these hungry souls the Bread of Life. Two months after they left the Missouri River, another man, Rev. Samuel Parker, arrived there, intending to make the same journey, for the same purpose, but was too late, the caravan having already been gone some weeks, and he was obliged to return home. The following year, however, he having secured Dr. Marcus Whitman as his companion, came West on an exploring tour. When they reached the heart of the Rocky Mountains they met a band of the Nez Perces tribe, and were so impressed with the practicability and importance of establishing a mission among them that Dr. Whitman returned East, the same year, taking with him two Nez Perces Indian boys. Dr. Parker continued his journey toward the setting sun to complete the exploration. In the spring of 1836 the Doctor, having meantime married, he persuaded Rev. and Mrs. Spaulding to accompany them, they started West to obey the call. They were joined by a young man by the name of William H. Gray. And here was another turning point in American destiny. These two young women, with hearts brave and true, one of them a bride, were the advance guard of American civilization in the Northwest. Their presence here was a power the agents of the British government could not resist. In 1837 a ship sailed round the Horn and came to the Columbia River by way of the Sandwich Islands, arriving in May of that year, bringing wives and companions to the Lees, who, having missed the Nez Perces tribe, had by the advice of Dr. John McLoughlin, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, settled in the Willamette Valley, about ten miles from where Salem now stands. Another reinforcement followed Whitman and Spaulding in 1838, composed of

Reverends Cushing Eells, A. B. Smith and Elknah Walker, with their brides, also Mr. Gray and his bride, he having gone back the previous year and married. These all settled east of the Cascade Mountains. In 1839 a shipload of more than fifty persons left Boston to strengthen the Methodist mission in the Willamette Valley, sailed round to the Columbia River, arriving in June, 1840, and thus between thirty-five and forty families of American blood, parentage and affiliation came and settled in Old Oregon as the direct result of that one speech, and the ultimate fate of British supremacy on the Northwest Coast was sealed.

Man proposes but God disposes. These people came to Christianize the Indians. In this they failed, but saved the country. Less than ten years from the arrival of the Lees in this country, one had died and the other had left the country, never to return, and the mission work was abandoned. As on the New England Coast two centuries before, a fatal malady swept the Indians of the lower Columbia and the Willamette Valley from the face of the earth. The opportunity of the missionaries was gone, and the mission was broken up. Not, however, until from its ruins the foundation upon which Willamette University has since been reared was laid. That institution, the outgrowth of the devotion and sacrifice of those early pioneers, has fitted and sent out thousands of young men and women for the important duties of life and it stands today as a monument to the piety and heroism of those early Christians. And the words of the Indian started them West.

Beside the missionaries sent out by the two denominations heretofore named, there were others who came to the Coast in those early days inspired by the same words and actuated by the same purpose to do good to the Indians. Rev. J. S. Griffin, Rev. Harvey Clarke and Mr. A. T. Smith came in 1840 as independent missionaries. Finding their occupation gone and their intentions thwarted they, too, turned their attention to educational matters. These settled in Tualatin Plains and took donation claims. Messrs. Clarke and Smith in West Tualatin. The gold craze of 1848 almost depopulated the Willamette Valley of men, and many orphans and half orphan children were left in a sad plight. It was then that old Grandma Bown found her mission. She opened her arms and the doors of her log cabins to the fatherless and motherless ones. While she fed and clothed them Mr. Clarke taught them. The orphan school became Tualatin Academy. The missionaries who had been driven out of the country east of the Cascade Mountains set-

tled near there and gave it their moral and financial support. Mr. Clarke gave half of his 640-acre donation claim to help found it, and Pacific University was the outgrowth of the devotion and sacrifice of those early pioneers. Its influence has been felt far and wide and it, too, stands today as a monument to the piety and heroism of those early Christians. And the words of the Indian started them West.

Not content with a single institution of learning in Oregon, those early Methodist missionaries felt that the promising City of Portland must be supplied. Father Wilbur was one of the early ones, though not the first, and was largely instrumental in putting Portland Academy on its feet, and although a lesser light, not less brilliant has been its rays, or less intense its influence for good. And the Indian's speech sent the founder of that school out West.

In 1859 Cushing Eells, who had taught in both of the embryo Universities of Oregon, and was much interested in educational matters, visited the site of the Whitman mission in this valley and became profoundly impressed with the importance of founding an institution of learning in this section, and the suitableness of locating it on the spot where the blood of the martyrs was shed. It was afterward located in this city, and Whitman College is the fourth institution of learning established by those who were inspired to come West by the plaintive appeal of the Indian. What a record!

But to return now to 1836. When those two lovely, charming, refined young women, the brides of Messrs. Whitman and Spaulding, nearly seventy-two years ago determined to leave their homes, friends, comforts and everything that life holds most dear, to come to the wilds of Oregon, they little knew what would be required of them, or what important services they were to perform. They thought they were answering the call of the Master. Many thought they were fanatics. They were imbued with a spirit of devotion that enabled them to overcome appalling obstacles. From every quarter hands were stretched out to hold them back. "It is certain death to go." "You can not live through it." "The Indians will surely kill you." "The wild beasts will devour yau." "You will starve to death," etc., etc. When they arrived at St. Louis they were not welcomed by the officers of the American Fur Company, who were to be their escorts. They tried to get rid of them. Other means failing, they were sent up the river to Liberty Landing as a suitable place to procure horses and an outfit. An agree-

ment was made by the company that the steamer, which would start in a few days, laden with their equipments, for Council Bluffs, should call for them. In due time the steamer left St. Louis as agreed upon, but when opposite Liberty Landing it sailed right by, purposely leaving them behind. "We'll not be bothered with those petticoats now," said they. But they reckoned without their host. With all possible haste Dr. Whitman and the ladies (Mr. Spaulding had gone on ahead with their animals and wagons) secured conveyances and proceeded on to Council Bluffs, only to find that the caravan had left five or six days ahead of them. Nothing daunted, they started on a three hundred mile race to catch up. They were inexperienced, everything was new and strange, the ladies were unaccustomed to this kind of travel, with unbroken horses; they had all kinds of exasperating delays. But they won. Early in June the captain of the caravan looked back, saw the dust, and later, after dark, they came into camp, hale and hearty. The captain was beat —he acknowledged defeat. Those women were plucky—they would do—and the innate gallantry of the true gentleman asserted itself toward the ladies of the party, and they were thereafter treated with the kindest consideration, which they requited by making themselves the center of its social life. Dangers they had in abundance. One day a whole herd of buffaloes came dashing at the center of the column and was turned aside from trampling them all to death only by the most strenuous efforts of the hunters, and it was after a score of their number had bitten the dust that they shifted their course enough to dash alongside in countless thousands with eyes gleaming fire and uttering unearthly groans and making the earth tremble with their tread. Rivers had to be crossed where the water came within a few inches of the tops of the horses backs on which they rode, or they were towed over while lying on rafts of willows by Indians on horses swimming under the riders. Food gave out—nothing but green Buffalo meat for days and weeks together. No beds but the bare ground, under the glaring heat of the pitiless sun or suffering from the biting storms, exhausted and hungry, faint and weary, they still journeyed on, and on, and on.

One of them has reported that on the Fourth of July they, though but few in number, remembered the day. The good minister, with the Bible in one hand and the American flag in the other, gave thanks for the protection of the past and prayed for blessings for the future, while symbolically they took

possession of the unbounded West as what it afterwards became the home of American mothers.

In the heart of the Rocky Mountains they met large numbers of wild Indians who had never seen a white woman, and wilder white men who had nearly forgotten the sight. They also there meet a strong delegation of the Nez Perces Indians whom they were coming to teach, who gave them a most hearty welcome. Mrs. Whitman writes: "When I alighted from my horse I was met by a company of matronly-looking Indian women, each one of whom gave me a most hearty kiss, which affected me very much." The farther west they came, the rougher was the road, the steeper were the hills and the more severe the strain on their exhausted bodies.

When after four months of travel they emerged on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, what a sight met their gaze! The beautiful valley of the Columbia was before them, with the hoary heads of Mount Hood and Mount St. Helens looming up in the distance, and the setting sun just peeping out behind one of them. Two days later, after partaking of a hasty breakfast at daybreak, on fresh horses the Doctor and his wife galloped eight miles to Fort Old Walla Walla. Their long, tedious, dangerous land journey was over. They were met by the gentlemen of the fort, who gave them a most cordial welcome. After the usual introductions and salutations, they entered the fort and were comfortably seated in cushioned armchairs. Breakfast was being served as they rode up, and all were soon seated at the table, and treated to food such as they had not tasted for many months. Says Mrs. Whitman: "While at breakfast a young rooster placed himself on the sill of the door and crowed a joyful welcome to the first American white woman who came to this State," which she fully appreciated and fully enjoyed. A day or two later Mr. and Mrs. Spaulding arrived.

They were now in the lap of civilization. Their long, toilsome, dangerous land journey was done. White women had traveled overland from the Atlantic shores to where the breezes from the Pacific fanned their cheeks. They had done the impossible. Notwithstanding the scores of warnings they had received they were now here. Rev. Jason Lee, who had crossed the plains two years before, had written back that it was impossible for a white woman to endure its hardships and dangers. Mr. Spaulding wrote to the Home Board: "Never send another white woman over those mountains if you have any regard for human life." But they did, for two years later four white American

women of similar calibre, two of whom have sons on this platform tonight, one of whom is the speaker, made the same journey in the same way, under similar circumstances and with similar experiences. Afterwards others followed. Seven years later the first train of wagons, under the guidance of the husband of one of those two brave women, rolled across the plains and closed up the connection between the two oceans by a wagon road. But these two women were the first—the advance guard. They blazed the trail which others followed. Their coming was the entering wedge of civilization, and to them more than to any other is due the credit, the honor, the glory of saving the Pacific Northwest to the government of the United States. All hail to womanhood—not a whit behind man in heroism, fortitude and patriotism—and in what she has done for her country and her race!

But what of the gallants who brought them This from Mrs. Whitman: "Tell mother that if I had looked the world over I could not have found a husband more careful and better qualified to transport a female such a distance." What could they have done without their squires? The greatest men are the most tender of women.

In reviewing the past and ascribing due credit to each for what he or she did for our country, it is important to consider the situation of affairs at that time. As is well known, two governments were vying with each other for the supremacy of the Pacific Northwest. It was tacitly understood that the nationality of those who should settle here would have much to do in the ultimate settlement of this question. There were three natural divisions of the country in dispute. The country south of the Columbia River, which now includes the State of Oregon and a part of Idaho, was the southern division. That north of the same river up to the forty-ninth parallel, and which now includes the State of Washington and the northern part of Idaho, was the middle section, and from that line to 54° 40′, now a part of British Columbia, was the northern division. Each government had special claims for each. The claim of the British government for the southern division was comparatively weak—that of the United States government for the northern division was also not strong. The middle division (our own State) was the real battleground of the controversy. Here was located the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company's operations, most of their important trading posts, and property claimed by them, a few years later, to be worth two million dollars. At the same

time, there were complications that made the whole section likely to go together. There were, too, questions of state that had most important bearing, independent of the circumstances and particular value of either division or the whole of it. All these had to be considered. No one overtopped all the others. In the work that the early pioneers did for the ascending of our own government, the importance of what they did should be gauged to some extent by the danger of losing the particular section affected by their individual work.

The first Americans who came to the Coast were the members of the Methodist mission. Failing to meet the tribe of Indians who had sent their messengers East, they very naturally came to Vancouver, where Dr. McLoughlin, the Hudson's Bay Governor of the West, had his headquarters. He shrewdly advised them to settle in the Willamette Valley, south of the Columbia, and in the southern division. The first settlements were made in the rich agricultural lands of that section. The first organized effort to form a provincial government was made there, and ably assisted, if not led, by the members of this mission. The first memorials to Congress, taken there by Rev. Jason Lee, were prepared and signed there. The first strong appeal to members of Congress, giving information of the importance and nature of that region, was made by Mr. Lee. All this had a strong influence with our statesmen, and had an important bearing on the final settlement of the question. But all of this referred to that division of the country that the Hudson's Bay Company prized the least. They were in the fur business and had but little trade in that section. The natural effect of this awakening of interest in the question among our own statesmen was to stir up the English government to make efforts to hold on to the prize that seemed to be slipping from their grasp. The inaccessibility of this distant region and the sterility of the soil of the other sections was enlarged upon, and special efforts were made to impress our statesmen with its worthlessness, especially that of these two northern divisions. They were extremely anxious to hold on to this part if they could not secure possession of the whole. The knowledge of its mineral resources was carefully concealed. It was about this time that the question began to be pressed to final settlement. But the strongest adverse argument was its utter inaccessibility by land. While these questions were pending the emigration of 1842 arrived in this valley. The means of communication were scarce then—certain information, whether cor-

rect or not, we can not now say; but which he regarded as of great importance, was imparted to Dr. Whitman. He was profoundly stirred. At the same time the affairs of his mission were not satisfactory. From his standpoint, and with his prejudices and feelings, it appeared to him that the antagonism of the adherents of another faith were supported by the officers of a foreign government, and were crippling his work more than anything else. For his mission to succeed there must be a free government, and he was intensely patriotic. He was roused to action and made that wonderful ride across the continent in the fall and winter of that year, accompanied by A. L. Lovejoy, who had brought him the news. He did not live to publish the story of his experiences. That was gleaned from his traveling companion. No one can read that simple tale without being profoundly impressed with his iron will, his indomitable energy and his great endurance.

Early in 1843 he was in Washington City. The Secretary of War was his old classmate. Of his interviews with the President, Secretary of State and members of Congress there is no record written down at the time except some correspondence between Dr. Whitman and the Secretary of War, his personal friend. Like Lee, his predecessor, he no doubt mingled freely with men of influence, gave them information and used arguments to convince them of the importance and value of Oregon. His verbal reports to his co-laborers on his return, as remembered by them and published many years afterwards, are to the effect that the impossibility of a wagon road across the Rocky or Stony Mountains was freely discussed. He, asserting its practicability (he had brought one wagon through already), others its impossibility. He was given time to make the trial, and further negotiations were suspended. This is the testimony of those to whom he told his experiences after his return.

Whether or not he had much to do with organizing that emigration is not essential; it is certain that he encouraged many. He probably did not advise anyone to stay at home. It is also certain that he accompanied them, that he rendered most important and valuable services on the way, and the testimony is convincing that at the critical period of its success or failure when at Fort Hall, his influence turned the scale, saved the emigration from being turned again south, as it had been done the year before, and made the wagon road from ocean to ocean an accomplished fact. The importance of this can hardly be overestimated. Like a fairy tale, the incredulous were loath to be-

lieve it at first, but each succeeding year confirmed its practicability until our Government fully realized it, and the treaty was finally made giving to us the country we could reach with wagons.

Having done what he could, he again returned to his duties and his special work. His motto seemed to be "ever ready to help." The testimony is strong and unanimous that of those who passed his door, the hungry were never turned empty away. His steadfastness and zeal were apparent in his work at home as well as in his journey East, until death overtook him while at his post of duty.

The importance of the work of Dr. Whitman and his colaborers as missionaries has not, I think, been fully realized. As said before, through no fault of theirs, disease and death extinguished the work of the Methodist missionaries in the Willamette Valley. They still did most important work in Americanizing the provincial government of Oregon. They helped to give it a high moral tone. The first prohibition laws in the United States were enacted there, and by their assistance in conjunction with Dr. McLoughlin. But the work for the Indians had no lasting effect. This condition did not obtain among the Indians east of the Cascade Mountains. The impression prevails among many that, as the Indians killed Dr. Whitman, therefore no religious influence had been felt among them. This is a mistake. The contrary is the fact. The unfortunate murder of the whites living in this valley was followed by the abandonment of the other two stations and the departure of their missionaries. But the results of their work was not lost. The Cayuse war practically extinguished the Cayuse tribe. Most of what were left joined other tribes. One band, however, numbering about forty-five persons, remained true to their religious faith. During the existence of the mission a printing press had been received from the Sandwich Islands and used quite extensively at the station among the Nez Perces Indians. Numbers of books were printed containing parts of the Gospels, and many songs. Some of the Indians learned to use them. After their teachers left they continued the worship of the true God, and I wish to say in passing that the work that Mrs. Spaulding did to bring this to pass was most effective. The Spokane Indians also continued steadfast in their religious services. When, ten years later, Gov. Stevens met the Indians to make treaties with them, it was reported that one-third of the Nez Perces tribe were nominally Christian. It was largely due to the influence of these

Christian Indians that bloodshed was averted and Gov. Stevens made what progress he did in his treaty work, and, at a later time, got away with his life. It was the friendly Christian Indians who caught and delivered up the murderers of Dr. Whitman and his companions. The band of the Spokane Indians among whom Messrs. Walker and Eells lived and labored never joined the hostiles. At the time of our general Indian wars, in 1855-6, the influence of the Christian Indians living east of the Cascade Mountains was very important in preserving the lives of the whites and ultimately securing the supremacy of our arms. And twenty-five years later, when the peace policy adopted by General Grant, at that time President of the United States, made it practicable for religious work to be resumed among them, it was found that more than five hundred Indians who had previously been under the influence of Dr. Whitman and his colaborers were consistent Christians, and immediately became communicants in Congregational or Presbyterian churches. Since that time a Bible school has been established among the Nez Perces Indians, and scores of young men have been educated and sent out as preachers and religious teachers to the members of their own and other neighboring tribes. These fruits of the work of this little band of those early missionaries among the Indians living east of the Cascade Mountains testify to the high character, the devotion and true piety of Dr. Whitman and his associates. They were true, devoted and faithful, and, as far as circumstances beyond their control would permit, successful. They did their work, both as citizens and Christians, well. That a small band of renegade Indians of a proud and arrogant tribe, under adverse influences, rose up and murdered all the white Americans in this part of the country, under the mistaken idea that they (the Americans) were coming to deprive them of their country, and that Dr. Whitman, having been active in assisting them to come here, was their worst enemy, does not militate against his character as a devoted Christian missionary.

I would not wish to give him undue praise. He was mortal, like all of us. He had his faults and his failings. It was, I think, President Jackson who said: "Save me from my friends." A wiser than he has said: "He that blesseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him." Between the hero-worshippers on the one side, and the historical iconoclasts on the other, the true name and fame of Dr. Whitman have been unfortunately misrepresented. But he was a good man and did his work well. So did others.

I have said that the speech of the Indian saved Oregon. I have also said that the credit, the glory and the honor of saving Oregon is due more to Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding than to any other. Others have proclaimed far and wide that Whitman saved Oregon, while still others deny this and ascribe great credit to Rev. Lee. They all saved Oregon. Each in his own place did what he or she could, and each was most important. Like the stones in an arch, each was necessary to support the structure and was dependent upon the others. Jason Lee was the first American citizen to come to Oregon and make it his bachelor home. He was the first to bring to the attention of the authorities at Washington the value and importance of the Willamette Valley and that part of Oregon. He and his associates did much to inaugurate the provincial government, give it a high moral tone and Americanize it. He did his work well.

The two women of whom I have spoken were the first white American women to come to Oregon to make this their home. They endured much, were brave and true. Their coming produced the first tremor of real fear in the breasts of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company of the danger of losing supremacy in the Northwest. They did their work well.

But it was Whitman who brought the first white American woman to this State. Mrs. Spaulding being ill, had to travel more slowly, and did not arrive until a day or two later. It was Whitman who brought the first wagon across the plains to this State, and, if he did not personally drive it all the way himself, he directed its progress over the most difficult parts and caused it to be brought the rest.

It was Whitman who took his life in his hands and crossed the great and terrible wilderness in the dead of winter, going direct to Washington City. He used his influence and information at a most important time, as Lee had done five years before him, for the saving of Oregon. It was Whitman who as a guide, as physician to the sick, and as friend to everyone, did so much to bring the first train of emigrant wagons across the plains to Oregon, and who, at the most critical juncture, saved it from being abandoned or turned aside to the sunny climes of the South. And it was Whitman who, having done what he could for his country and the existence of his mission, settled down faithfully and earnestly to do good to the souls and bodies of the lowly, and, when the spirit of revenge was abroad in the land, was made the victim of the hate of a few unreasoning, renegade savages, who slew their best friend. A martyr to his coun-

try, he gave his life. Who did more? Lee and Whitman were warm personal friends.

It was among her Methodist sisters of the lower country that Mrs. Whitman made her home while her husband was threading those wilds and defiles of the great desert in the dead of winter. Uncertain of his return, or even of his life, she sought solace and comfort with the ladies of his mission. It were base to disparage one for the glorification of the other. But with such a record, who will deny that the name of Dr. Marcus Whitman deserves a high place in the arch of fame, if his be not, indeed, the honor of the keystone? Were he alive to-day, who would be more ready to place a diadem on the brows of the first Christian martyrs of the Northwest Coast, Dr. Marcus and Mrs. Narcissa Whitman, than their fellow-laborer and fellow-citizen, the self-sacrificing, devoted pioneer missionary, Rev. Jason Lee! Brothers they were, both gave their services, one his life.

But while we meet here to-day to pay our tributes to the memories of the sainted dead of our own race, let us not forget that somewhere—like Moses of old, "No one knows of his sepulchre until this day"—but somewhere, perchance on a lonely peak of his mountain home, overlooking the vast domain lying to the north, the south, and the distant west, peopled by hundreds of thousands of thriving citizens, whose prosperity he had much to do in securing to them—somewhere, in an unknown and unmarked grave, lie the bones of one who, moved upon by the Great Spirit of all good to seek in his blind way for more light, touched a spring which set in motion influences that produced such marvelous results. A noble scion of the most superior tribe of Indians in the Pacific Northwest, he did his part, and did it well.

This narrative of the past to which you have listened is not merely an interesting story. It is more than that—it is a challenge. A challenge to us, who enjoy the fruits of what our forefathers have done for the land in which we dwell—a challenge that we, too, do our part in the battle of life as they did their.

What are the needs of the hour? What are we called upon to do? If you will pardon the suggestion, I would like to say in this line of what has been done, that when those public-spirited men founded institutions of learning, they not only provided for the then present needs of the country, but also laid foundations for the future. The Oregon Institute, Tualatin Academy, and Whitman Seminary were sufficient for the time, and were also foundations upon which have grown the institu-

tions of to-day. Our forefathers saw the future and provided for it. From our vantage ground we, too, can see down the vista of the future and with considerable certainty realize its needs. Where now there are thousands there will be millions of people leading busy, active, responsible lives. When the Willamette Valley, the garden spot of the State of Oregon, shall be thickly dotted over with happy homes, when upon the finest sheet of water in the world shall ride thousands of vessels carrying the produce of this vast Inland Empire, as well as the manufactures of the magnificent forests in the western part of the State to the ends of the earth, when industries and commerce shall be so developed that the Northwest Pacific Coast shall have a commanding influence, not only over the United States but over the world, then there will be great demands for men—real men, men of brain, well trained—but above all men of sterling worth and character. Where shall they be found? They naturally must be born, bred and trained in what was Old Oregon. The mission of the Christian college and university is as necessary to-day as it was one hundred years ago. It fills a place as much needed as ever and of importance that will be increased in the same ratio as will be the growth of business and population on this Coast. The religious schools of the West have hard struggles to compete with the State schools, with their generous financial support. They sorely need and must have, if they are to do the work so greatly needed, large endowment, the income of which will enable them to command the best talent and to secure ample equipment, that they may thoroughly train young men and young women for the arduous, responsible, and most important duties of the future. Let us rally to the support of the institutions planted by our fathers. With Willamette University, the outgrowth of the work of the noble Lee and his associates, and Whitman College, erected in memory of the martyred Whitman—one for Oregon and one for Washington—amply endowed, what power for needed good they would become! One in the garden spot of the Northwest—the other in this most highly favored valley, with its mountain breezes, giving health and mental energy to the students within its walls, what better locations could be found and upon what better foundations could they be built? May not the favored recipients of what has been done for us inspire us to emulate and imitate the virtues and characters of these noble heroes and heroines of the long ago?

EDWIN EELLS.

EXPANSION OF THE DEWEY DECIMAL SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION FOR THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.

The following expansion of the Dewey Classification has been prepared to meet the needs of the University of Washington Library in classifying its books and pamphlets upon the history of the Pacific Northwest. At the request of neighboring librarians, its publication is permitted with the thought that it may prove helpful. It is not expected that its field of usefulness will extend outside of the region of Old Oregon.

The University of Washington Library employs the Dewey Decimal Classification, a system now in general use in the Northwest, as well as elsewhere throughout the United States and abroad. One of the most admirable features of this well-known system is its expansiveness by use of further decimals, permitting subdivision and growth. It has thus been possible, without the change of any numbers now in use, to add such extensions to the Dewey numbers as provide for the special topics and regions of the Pacific Northwest.

Hoping to make clear the scope and purpose of this classification, a few words of explanation are offered:

1. This is an expansion only; not an entire system. It is not to be used independently, but strictly as a supplement to Dewey. While no Dewey numbers are used with changed meanings, it should be noted that the Dewey 979.5, Oregon, is taken to mean Oregon in its early significance, covering the entire region between the parallels of 42 degrees and 54 degrees, 40 minutes, north latitude, and extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. It thus becomes the number for general Pacific Northwest History, and the State of Oregon is limited to 979.53.

2. In subdividing, the attempt has been made to follow as closely as possible the spirit of the Dewey system. County subdivisions have been worked out for the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana, and the general scheme of grouping by counties has been followed. Where possible, unassigned places are provided for future division of large counties into smaller ones.

3. In providing for special topics, only the broadest and most obviously necessary subjects have been given numbers.

For the ordinary library, a too minute classification is to be discouraged. Broader heads give fewer alphabets through which a patron must look for a given book upon the shelf. A careful use of book numbers tends to bring together nearly related books, and thus answers many of the purposes of classification. For those who wish, however, to classify more closely, further subdivision can be made.

4. Many books of interest in connection with the history of the Northwest are most serviceable when classified with the subject to which they chiefly contribute. No provision is here made for such books, it being expected that the Dewey system will be followed without change and that the library catalog will bring the history student's attention to such resources. When for any reason such books are attracted to a Northwest History collection, they are to be given the General Northwest History number, 979.5, unless other provision has been made.

5. In the University of Washington Library, description and travel are placed with the history of the Pacific Northwest. Libraries wishing to separate travel from history have only to follow the Dewey plan of inserting 1 after the initial 9, at the same time removing the decimal point one place to the left. Explanation of this plan is given in Dewey's Decimal Classification in a note opposite 914-919.

6. Special topics and special regions have been assigned for the State of Washington. For special topics and localities of other States, unassigned numbers are provided. In libraries making a specialty of their own State history, these numbers can be used according to their own peculiar needs. Knowledge of local affairs and of the literature to be classified will determine what is needed. It is not expected that any library will care to use such special topics for States other than its own.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Expansion of the Dewey Decimal Classification for the History of the Pacific Northwest.

978.6	MONTANA.
.605	Periodicals.
.606	Societies.
.61	SPECIAL TOPICS. To be assigned when needed.
.611	
.612	
.613	
.614	
.615	

.616
.617
.618
.619
.62 SPECIAL LOCALITIES. To be assigned when needed and
.621 to cover the literature relating to areas whose boundaries are
.622 not coincident with county lines.
.623
.624
.625
.626
.627
.628
.629
.63 CENTRAL WESTERN AND NORTHWESTERN COUNTIES.
978.631 Flathead. Kalispell.
.632 Missoula. Missoula (City).
.634 Lewis and Clark.
.635 Helena.
.636 Powell.
.637 Granite.
.638 Ravelli. Hamilton.
.64 SOUTHWESTERN COUNTIES.
.641 Beaverhead. Dillon.
.642 Deer Lodge. Anaconda.
.643 Silver Bow.
.644 Butte.
.645 Jefferson.
.646 Broadwater.
.647 Gallatin.
.648 Madison.
.65 NORTH CENTRAL COUNTIES.
.651 Teton.
.652 Chouteau.
.653
.654 Fergus. Lewiston.
.655 Meagher.
.656 Cascade.
.657 Great Falls.
.66 SOUTH CENTRAL COUNTIES.
.661. Park. Livingston.
.662 Sweetgrass. Big Timber.
.663 Carbon. Red Lodge.
.664 Yellowstone.
.665 Crow Indian. Billings.
.67 NORTHEASTERN COUNTIES.
.671 Valley. Glasgow.
.672
.673
.674 Dawson. Glendive.

.675
.676
.677
.68 SOUTHEASTERN COUNTIES.
.681 Rosebud. Forsyth.
.682
.683
.684 Custer. Miles City.
.685
.686
.687

979. PACIFIC. Place here general works on the Pacific Coast. e. g., Greenhow's Oregon and California.
.05 Periodicals.
.06 Societies.
.1 ARIZONA.
.2 UTAH.
.3 NEVADA.
.4 CALIFORNIA.

979.5 OLD OREGON. GENERAL NORTHWEST HISTORY, covering the region between the parallels of 42 degrees and 54 degrees and forty minutes, north latitude, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.
.505 Periodicals.
.506 Societies.
.51 SPECIAL TOPICS.
.511 Early discoveries and explorations by water. See also 998, Arctic regions.
.512 Early explorations (land). Lewis and Clark. Westward explorations not limited to this territory are here included when of primary importance to the history of the Pacific Northwest.
.513 The fur trade. Trapping.
.514 The Hudson Bay Company.
.515 The colonizing movement.
.516 The missionaries, their part in colonizing the section and their work with the Indians. Whitman Controversy.
.517 Native races. The Indian wars. See 970.1 to 970.6 for all works not definitely limited to the Pacific Northwest; 970.2 and 970.3 are to prevail over 979.517. Use 970.7 for Indian language.
.518 Boundaries. Controversies and settlement of claims.
.519 Biographies of men closely associated with the region.
.52 SPECIAL LOCALITIES.
.521 Columbia river and valley.
.522 Willamette valley.
.523 Puget Sound, covering the field down to 1853. For period since 1853, see 979.723.
.524 British Columbia. Victoria. Vancouver City.
.525 Vancouver Island.
.526 Nootka Sound.

.527
.528
.529
979.53 OREGON. Limited to the present State of Oregon, 1853—date.
.5305 Periodicals.
.5306 Societies.
.531 SPECIAL TOPICS.
.5311
.5312
.5313
.5314
.5315
.5316
.5317
.5318
.5319
.532 SPECIAL LOCALITIES.
.5321
.5322
.5323
.5324
.5325
.5326
.5327
.5328
.5329
979.54 NORTHWESTERN COUNTIES.
.541 Clatsop.
.542 Columbia.
.543 Tillamook.
.544 Washington and Yamhill.
.545 Multnomah.
.546 Portland.
.547 Clackamas.
.548 Marion.
.549 Polk.
.55 CENTRAL WESTERN COUNTIES.
.551 Lincoln.
.552 Benton. Corvallis.
.553 Linn. Albany.
.554 Lane. Eugene.
.555
.56 SOUTHWESTERN COUNTIES.
.561 Douglass. Roseburg.
.562 Jackson. Jacksonville.
.563 Jospehine.
.564 Curry.
.565 Coos. Coquille.
.57 NORTH CENTRAL COUNTIES.
.571 Wasco. The Dalles.
.572

.573 Sherman.
.574 Gilliam.
.575 Morrow.
.576 Wheeler.
.577 Crook.
.58 SOUTH CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN COUNTIES.
.581 Klamath.
.582
.583 Lake.
.584
.585 Harney.
.586
.587 Malheur.
.588
.59 NORTHEASTERN COUNTIES.
.591 Umatilla. Pendleton.
.592
.593 Union.
.594 Wallowa.
.595 Baker. Baker City.
.596
.597 Grant.
.598
.599
979.6 IDAHO.
.605 Periodicals.
.606 Societies.
.61 SPECIAL TOPICS.
.611
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.62 SPECIAL LOCALITIES.
.621
.622
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.629
.63 NORTHERN COUNTIES.
.631 Kootenai. Coeur d'Alene.
.632 Shoshone. Wallace.
.633 Latah. Moscow.

.634 Nez Perces.
.635 Idaho.
.64 SOUTHWESTERN COUNTIES.
.641 Washington.
.642 Boise.
.643 Canyon.
.644 Ada.
.645 Boise City.
.646 Elmore.
.647 Owyhee.
.648
.649
.65 SOUTH CENTRAL COUNTIES.
.651 Lemhi.
.652
.653 Custer.
.654
.655 Blaine.
.656
.657 Lincoln.
.658 Cassia.
.659
.66 SOUTHEASTERN COUNTIES.
.661 Fremont.
.662
.663 Bingham.
.664
.665 Bannock.
.666
.667 Oneida.
.668 Bear Lake.
.669
979.7 WASHINGTON.
.705 Periodicals.
.706 Societies.
.71 SPECIAL TOPICS.
.711 Marine history. Ship-building. Lighthouses. Disasters.
.712 Fishing industry.
.713 Agriculture. Irrigation.
.714 Lumber industry. Forest reserves.
.715 Mining.
.716 Railroads. Material about steam railway transportation in the State. The building of the roads. Government aid. Litigations. Publications issued by the railroads are classified with the subject treated.
.717 Native races. See also 979.517.
.718
.719 Biographies of men closely associated with the history of the State.
.72 SPECIAL LOCALITIES.
.721

.722 The Olympic Mountains.
.723 Puget Sound, 1853—date. For early history, see 979.523.
.724 The Cascade Mountains.
.725 Mount Rainier, called also Mt. Tacoma.
.726
.727
.728 The Inland Empire.
.729
979.73 NORTHWESTERN COUNTIES.
.731 Whatcom.
.732 Bellingham.
.733 Skagit.
.734 Snohomish.
.735 Everett.
.736 San Juan.
.737 Island.
.738 Clallam. Port Angeles.
.739
.74 MIDDLE WESTERN COUNTIES.
.741 Kitsap.
.742 King.
.743 Seattle.
.744 Pierce.
.745 Tacoma.
.746 Thurston. Olympia.
.747 Mason.
.748 Chehalis. Aberdeen. Grays Harbor.
.749 Jefferson. Port Townsend.
.75 SOUTHWESTERN COUNTIES.
.751 Lewis. Chehalis. Centralia.
.752
.753 Skamania.
.754
.755 Clarke. Vancouver.
.756 Cowlitz.
.757 Wahkiakum.
.758 Pacific. Willapa Harbor.
.759
.76 NORTH CENTRAL COUNTIES.
.761 Okanogan.
.762
.763
.764 Chelan. Wenatchee.
.765
.766 Douglas.
.767
.768
.769
.77 SOUTH CENTRAL COUNTIES.
.771 Kittitas.
.772 Ellensburg.
.773 Yakima.

.774 North Yakima.
.775 Klickitat. Goldendale.
.776
.777
.778
979.78 NORTHEASTERN COUNTIES.
.781 Ferry.
.782 Stevens. Colville.
.783 Lincoln. Davenport.
.784 Spokane.
.785 Spokane City.
.786
.787
.79 SOUTHEASTERN COUNTIES.
.791 Adams. Ritzville.
.792 Whitman. Colfax. Garfield. Pullman. Palouse.
.793 Asotin.
.794 Garfield. Pomeroy.
.795 Columbia.
.796 Walla Walla. Walla Walla City.
.797 Franklin.
.798
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.805 Periodicals.
.806 Societies.
.81 SPECIAL TOPICS.
.811 Boundary questions.
.812
.813
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.815
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.817
.818
.819
.82 SPECIAL LOCALITIES.
.821
.822
.823
.824
.825
.826
.827
.828
.829
.83-89 Left vacant for subsequent county subdivisions.
979.9 THE YUKON. With reference from 971.2. This is left vacant below awaiting its development before further subdivision. Works covering both Alaska and the Yukon are classified 979.8 unless the treatment of Alaska is only incidental.

Expansion of the Dewey Decimal Classification for the History of the Pacific Northwest.

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DOCUMENTS.

The Hudson Bay Company documents collected by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye in the preparation of her book on McDonald of Oregon are continued in this department.

Fear of Losing British America.

Archibald McDonald is evidently writing to his friend John McLeod in this letter. Readers will notice how he hints at the possibility of His Majesty's losing his possessions on this side of the Atlantic:

Fort Langley, 20th Feb'y, 1833.

My dear Friend,

Without going into a long preface about it, let me inform you that your kind letter of March last came duly to hand, and much gratified was I to learn that you and your were safely landed in one of His Britannic Majesty's Canadian Domains. That wing of the country however being rather new to us all in this part of the world you might have said a little more about it,—Chicoutimy—where is Chicoutimy? why, you tell me tis near the seat of Government, but more out of the way of news than even Kamloops—if this be the case tis what classical characters would call a great anomaly. But Master John if the truth were known you have the Quebec Mercury & Montreal Herald wet from the press the 2'd & 3'd morning after their publication and of course have become brimfull with Canadian polotics—by the by to all appearance a most fertile subject of discussion in these days, so much so, that, if he does not look sharp His Majesty will ere long be apt to loose his valuable domains on this side of the Atlantic.

As the Kings posts—the Seignories and all that is great and good along that side of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is now ours I hope we shall soon have a flaming account of your profits in order to make up the full extent of first expectations on our side. Do not however imagine that I insinuate by this that we ourselves are making a loosing business of it—on the contrary west side the mountains last year cleared 20,000£ and this, I expect it will do just as good. Still I would not be sorry that all the Factors who have heretofore in snug corners distinguished themselves for having made good and profitable returns, were sent to the N W Coast or Gulf of St. Lawrence, and then they would see the difference of making out a shining bill-sheet. Here, this year, in the face of 3 American vessels we collected 2,000 skins. Nass in opposition to no less than 7 got as much besides 1,000 picked up by each of our own vessels—but then they cost dear,

near 2 dollars for made Beaver. Will you trade be much cheaper? I presume not, for I understand your Micmacs from the opposite shore knew how to value their Beaver & to teach the natives of the district a good lesson also. Mr. Connolly does not write me, but I believe so far from his being in a dying state last Spring, he was about taking to himself a better half, and thereby contemplating, health—wealth and happiness at Tadousac. I suppose I shall next hear from you from Lake St. John as I understand you are to move up that way. The same source of information hints to me that Jerimy is the post intended for me when I return from my rotation. Of course, unless you meet him about Quebec or Montreal you see nothing of our old English River Bourgeois. is he not down near Anticosti? He writes no one in the north now a days. With respect to my self I at the request of our great folk took passage in the Eagle last fall from here—spent a month with them in the Columbia and found my way back to the family a few days before Christmas after spending some time in Puget sound looking out for a place fit for an establishment more suited for our purpose than Fort Vancouver, which, you must understand, is in this case to be abandoned. The Doctor and Mr. Ogden I believe got out this spring —at all events I am directed to be at Vancouver early next month with bag and baggage and whatever becomes of the Baggage—goods and chattels, poor things, tis more than probable I myself shall be sent to fill up a hole on the coast. They say I cannot be off with less than 15 years of the Columbia. You would have understood from Mr. Herriott that he was not to come across last fall, neither did Kitson;—Mr. Heron as usual stuck at Colville with Frank and Annance his aids. Black is at our old place Pamburn at Walla Walla. Work continues to follow the Freemen in one direction and Michel la Frambois in another. Manson and Doctor Kennedy compose Ogdens staff. Exclusive of all these in Columbia proper there sat at table when I was at Vancouver last fall—Factor McL. and Finlayson—Trader Cowie,—Mr. David Douglas, just returned from California via Sandwich Islands—Messrs James Douglas of the Vancouver and Capt. McNeill of the brig Lama (Lately bought at Waohoo by Mr. Finlayson) & two or three mates besides these were a Captain Wyeith and a Mr. (obliterated) both from Boston with a party of settlers to form a colony on the Willamette. Of a great many that started in the expedition only 9 arrived at the place of destination. The plans intended for the establishing of this colony you will see at full length described in all the American papers. To complete the catalogue of our Gentl'n in this quarter I should say that Capt. Kipling with the brig Dyrad & 2 mates, & Capt. Sinclair with the schooner Cadboro and 1 mate were then to the northward Yale is with me here and takes charge when I leave the place—he will have 12 men and 1 cooper as assistant—force in my opinion adequate to the security of the place as another Establishment is to be formed in the

Sound. In one respect I regret leaving Ft. Langley—it is a snug comfortable place—but when I find it is high time for me to see and get my little Boys to school—God bless them I have now no less than five of them, all in a promising way. Jennie is glad to hear of Charlotte's welfare and begs to be most kindly remembered to her. I hear poor Mr. Prudent is not too well in health —he wrote me himself but did not say so. If I succeed with my six men in reaching the Columbia safely I shall endeavour to write you a few lines on the envelope to say how I am likely to be disposed of &c. &c. &c. Meantime believe me my Dear friend

Most sincerely yours

(Sgd) ARCH'D McDONALD.

Appalled by Fever.

John Work prefers all other savage dangers to that of leading a fever-stricken party through hostile lands:

Fort Vancouver, 24th Feby. 1834.

My Dear Edward

After an expedition of 16 months I arrived here on the 29th of October when I had the particular pleasure of receiving your, your very kind and highly valued letter of the 3rd Feby. last and was extremely happy to hear of your health and welfare and that you are getting on so well and the fair prospects before you. Accept my best thanks for the fund of interesting information which your letter contains. I can scarcely help envying you the contentment and happiness you enjoy. Let not the trouble you have buying selling and bartering discourage you but go on vigorously, your perseverence and prudence will insure success and in a short time your business will be on a more extensive scale and much more satisfactory to yourself. Keep in remembrance that many of the principal merchants in Canada who be persevering industry realized handsome fortunes, and though with no very extraordinary talents commenced business on a far lesser scale than you have done. God prosper you and may you succeed to the full extent of your wishes My dear Ned as I have frequently told you I have been long heartily tired of this Indian country and the wretched life which it has been often my lot to lead in it, and would be happy to leave it immediately, but as affairs stand at present I can perhaps save more here than in business, with the small sum I could begin upon, besides it is more certain, at least for some time, I therefore deem it best to endeavor with strict economy to save a little more so that I might be likely to have better success. I am also afraid of my own want of experience. My last expedition was the most unpleasant one I have yet had. I was to the Southward to California we had a good deal of trouble and some skirmishes with

hostile tribes of savages who are there very numerous, some parts of the country are very rugged and difficult to pass, but what was worst of all the fever broke out among my people, (near 100 in number) and spread so rapidly among them that in a short time more than three fourths of the party, myself, the three little ones & their mother among the number, were attacked by it. A number of us were soon reduced to a most helpless state, indeed wretched, without medicines, (for my stock had been all expended,) or any kind of necessaries for people in such a condition, having to pass through hostile tribes of treacherous savage Indians, and a month & a halfs march to get here where alone I could expect to obtain assistance, we were in a most deplorable condition I am unable to describe it, at length by persevering and with much difficulty we got this length. Two men and Indian & two children belonging to the party died on the way, I was so much exhausted by this debilitating disease that I was reduced to a perfect skeleton and could scarcely walk, but by medical aid and enjoying the comforts of the establishment, comforts which I had been long a stranger to, I am now, thank God recovered and in pretty good health. Ah! Ned, the dangers among the Blackfeet are bad enough God knows, but them and all the other troubles in my most troublesome part of this savage country are not to be compared to the calamity of a whole party being thus attacked with sickness in a wilderness far from any aid or means of procuring remedies God keep me from ever experiencing the like again. I had a letter from Frank not long since he is passing the winter at Colville with Mr. McDonald and was then well, he was in the plains last summer and is to return again, it is a dangerous situation I have cautioned him to be particularly on his guard. Here affairs go on much in the old way, The Doctor's perseverance has made a great change you would scarcely know the place every bit of cleared ground and a great deal more which has been cleared is under cultivation and the quantity of grain produced is immense. A thrashing mill which he has had built this winter has been some time at work and distilling whiskey has been going on all winter, a hundred head of swine have been killed to make pork for the Naval Department. There are four vessels constantly in the country. Our friend J. Tod now winters in the neighborhood of Ye and always passes the summer there, & I am happy to hear he has got quite well. I may be so situated that I cannot be punctual in writing but be assured I shall miss no opportunity, and I trust you will do the same and continue to give me the news and prospects in your quarter.

God bless you Yours ever affectionately

Edwd. Ermatinger Esq. JOHN WORK.

More About Fever.

Dr. McLoughlin encourages McLeod and shows how they all planned for future independent lives.

Fort Vancouver, 1st March, 1834.

John McLeod, Esq.
Dear Sir.

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of yours of 20th March, 1833, by which I am sorry to learn that your poor wife is again unwell, but I hope she is recoveréd and is in the enjoyment of sound Health as without Health Life is I would almost say a Burden—I cannot give an opinion at least any way correct in regard to the Kings Posts as I have no document to go By—But as a matter of opinion I must say I think I will never pay the money given for them—though they may perhaps pay by the Economy it will enable the Company to carry on Business in the neighbouring places as to us here we are going on in the usual way we have an additional post at Mill Bank Sound—and Expect to be able to Establish another at the River in Latitude 59 and which will enable us to extend our trade in the country north of New Caledonia. But this year we have no party in the Snake country as Work arrived so late last fall it was impossible for him to get Back this season—he was so late in coming in in consequence of him and his party being afflicted with the Intermittent in the plains of which five of his people died and the mortality among the natives has been Immense. At this place we were also afflicted with it but not so violently as usual. I remark what you say about the River St. Maurice, it certainly is a most disagreeable place where you are constantly annoyed by opposition—and never will shew on the credit side of the account but to you it has the Advantage of being nigh the Civilized World which enables you to place your money out to more advantage than 2-¼ p Cent and more than this you are nigh to where your children are educated.

I am,
Yours truly,
(Sgd) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

Arrival of the Missionaries.

In this gossipy letter Dr. McLoughlin tells about the arrival of Jason Lee's party, and also of Doctor Parker, who looked out the way for the Whitman mission.

Fort Vancouver, 1st Febry, 1836.

My dear Sir,

I have not the pleasure to receive any letter from you but I am aware that your epistle must be detained on the way.

I will still do myself the pleasure to address you. As to us here thanks be to the Almighty for His mercies—the fever has not been so Bad as usual—and in every other respect our Business goes on as well as usual—and our farm supplies us with plenty to eat. I think I wrote you that last year two missionaries Methodist preachers were settled in Willamette—they have begun a farm on a large scale and have collected a few Indians around them whom they are instructing in religion this year another Missionary is come across land from Boston—he is come to select stations for missionaries. He goes back this Spring by the Route he come and Missionaries will be sent here this Spring-their plan is to reside among the Indians in the way the preceding have. By this you must see that Before long this will be a settled country and if it was not very difficult to get here as it is I am certain settlers would flock here instead of remaining in Upper and Lower Canada. The Willamette Free-men have begun farms and have amongst them about 3,000 Bushels of wheat, Thomas McKay has begun a farm Nigh Casineaus old village and has about 800 Bushels—Wheat—Margaret and Eloisa request to be remembered to you and Believe

me to be

Yours truly

(Sgd) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

Mixed Bloods.

Those "forelopers," as Kipling calls them, had sincere affection for their mixed blood progeny, which fact is shown by this letter from Finlayson to McLeod:

John McLeod, Esquire.

Fort Vancouver, 25th Feb'y, 1833.

Private.

My dear Sir,

Your very kind favour of the 29th. February came duly to hand per Mr. Cowie on the 4th November last, and was glad to learn that you & your family got in safety to your destination, but was on the other hand sorry to hear that Flora suffered so much from that kind of sickness, which invariably the introduction of the natives of this country into the civilized world, and from which, of once recovered, there can be little danger apprehended for the future. Your little Girl and the rest of your family, having therefore passed this ordeal, may be considered, if the expression is allowable as acclimated in the civilized world—and you have the advantage over your neighbours that your family are getting accustomed to and becoming acquainted with the usages of civilized society; while you are looking out at leisure, for a spot where to sit down for the remainder of your days. Matters in this quarter are going on in the usual way.

Returns are still good, but the strong opposition on the N W Coast for the last outfit, rendered it absolutely necessary to take some steps for the protection of the trade at that place, or abandon it altogether; I therefore, sailed in July last, for the Sandwich Islands, where I purchased a fine new copper brig of 150 tons for the sum of £1250 paid from the proceeds of the salmon & timber sent to that market. I also engaged her Captain (McNeill) to continue in the command of her who from his long experience on the N W Coast, will I think give affairs in that quarter a favourable turn. This step, together with the report of Mr. Ogden's liberality toward the natives, have been productive of some good results—insomuch, as it has acted as a damper upon our opponents; consequently the Coast at least for this winter, is clear of opposition and in this state will be turned to great advantage. It cleared for the last outfit £1613—the first gains ever realized from it, and I shall answer for its gains, ensuing one to treble that sum. I have written to Dr. Harkness, who is very old friend and acquaintance of mine, and who I will be most happy to see. I was not aware of his being at Quebec. In the Postcript to your letter of 12th March you speak of retiring. If your means are sufficient for that purpose, I would certainly do so, but I would recommend to you, not to take a step rashly, of which you might hereafter have cause to repent. You have two melancholy instances in your neighbourhood of the folly of such measures. I mean Messrs. McVicar & Spencer, both of whom if my information is correct, would gladly now grasp at what they have so foolishly spurned from them. I am just about starting on a cruise to the North West Coast and will perhaps peep in at the Russian Settlement at Sitka, you will therefore forgive the brevity of this, and with best wishes for the health and happiness and prosperity of yourself and family,

I am, My dear Sir
Most sincerely yours,
(Sgd) D'N FINLAYSON.

McLoughlin Mentions Wyeth.

In this interesting letter of friendly gossip the "Father of Oregon" reveals his heart about a number of things, and without mentioning the name tells of the arrival there of Nathaniel J. Wyeth.

Fort Vancouver, 1st March, 1833.

My dear Sir,

I have now before me your kind letter of 10 March 1832, and am happy to see that you and yours are enjoying that greatest of Terrestrial Blessings Good Health—and My Sister writes me that there are two Miss McLeods from the upper country at the Convent—did you know that the Mere Superior is my Sister—

if so why did you not tell her that you knew me & I am certain she would have been pleased to see an acquaintance of her Brothers. I am sorry to see you seem to consider your present situation will lead to Incur Expense. It is true it may do a little but you have the advantage by being close to the Civilized World, that you can place your money where you can get better interest than we get in England and the far greater advantage of being at hand to superintend the Education of your children—but of course every man is Best able to judge for himself and although I differ with your view of your situation still on your account I am sorry since all happiness only lays in the mind that you are not placed in a place more constant to your wishes. I have no data to enable me to give an opinion of the Kings Posts but if they are no Better than when the North West Company had them I think they will never pay the price paid for them, but still it may have been good Polocy to buy them as I am informed the Company was getting as notorious as the N. W. and H. B. were formerly in Canada.

But it is galling to think that a Bankrupt Yankee unacquainted with the Business should have been able to oblige us to pay so dear—in this quarter we go on in the usual way. Last year we had five opponents on the coast but still we procured furs to the amount of four thousand five hundred pounds. But this year we expect to have the Trade to ourselves and to do Better—we are also going to Establish another Post on the coast at Mill Bank Sound—and in 1834 another Post on a river in Latitude 56 North. Snake County is Ruined and there are at present 400 Americans in it and I see nothing that they can do to live but go in a body to the Pie-gan Lands which will be a Death blow to the Saskatchewan. A party of Americans made their way to this place they intended to Establish a Salmon fishery, but their plan has failed for the present in consequence of the vessel being wrecked, with their supplies being wrecked on their way there—and though he is off to Boston his people are here and he says he will be Back. Gervais (two names illegible) and a few others have begun farms in the Willamette and though I have been here since 1824 still I never could find time to visit it till last year and certainly it is deserving all the praises Bestowed on it as it is the finest country I have seen & certainly a far finer country than Red River for Indian traders to retire to—and before long you may depend it will be settled as there is now a plan on foot to colonize it from Boston. Margaret and Maria desire to (be) remembered to you and Charlotte and believe me to be

Yours truly

(sgd) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

N. B. Our crop is 3,500 Bushels Wheat, 3,000 Do. of Pease 3,000 Do Barley, 2,000 Do. Oats and 15,000 do Potatoes. I believe we would bear to be compared with any farm—our stock of cattle between 400 and 450 exclusive of what we supplied other places and you know in 1824 we had only 17 cows.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California. By William Elsey Connelley. (Topeka, Kansas: Published by the author, 1907, pp. X. 670.)

The student of Western history will find in this volume an interesting story of pioneer achievements. The bulk of the volume consists of a reprint of Doniphan's Expedition, etc., as published by Jno. T. Hughes in 1847. Mr. Connelley's work is that of editor and publisher mainly, though he has made some valuable additions.

Jno. Taylor Hughes, born in Kentucky, July 25, 1817, was a descendant of Stephen Hughes, who early came to Maryland from Wales. Members of the Hughes family later moved to Virginia. Each generation followed the recediing frontier westward into Kentucky and then into Missouri, where the author of Doniphan's Expedition grew to manhood. In 1840 he graduated from Bonne Femme College and was teaching school at Liberty, Mo., when war with Mexico was declared. He enlisted as a private and his company was part of Doniphan's regiment. He early made known his intention of becoming the historian of the expedition if he survived, and was given every opportunity to secure material for his contemplated work.

Doniphan's force, the First Regiment Missouri Mounted Volunteers, made up about half the army under the command of Colonel (later Brigadier-General) Stephen W. Kearny, the whole being known as the Army of the West. Kearny conducted the expedition to Santa Fe, where he left the bulk of his army under Doniphan while he pushed on with a few men to California. Doniphan in turn left Colonel Sterling Price in charge of Santa Fe and pushed on to Chihuahua. Two brilliant and decisive battles were fought at Brazito and Sacramento and Chihuahua was conquered.

From Chihuahua Doniphan marched his forces to Saltillo, from whence, as their period of enlistment would soon expire, they were ordered home. The march was continued to Matamoras, and from there they took ships to New Orleans, where they were mustered out of the service. This march from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, Chihuahua, Saltillo and Matamoras—about 3,600 miles—is called Doniphan's Expedition.

Hughes' narrative is extremely interesting. It is written from the standpoint of the man in the ranks and has a wealth of interest and detail pertaining to the actual difficulties of the march that is rarely obtainable for such a movement. Hughes was a keen observer and interestingly describes the country, its people, the army and its maneuvers. Few travelers have written with a readier pen.

Mr. Connelley has added fuller information in a multitude of foot notes, as well as full and interesting sketches of Doniphan, Hughes, Sterling Price, a part of the hitherto unprinted diary of Hughes, the official rosters of the companies and eleven appendices, all of which enhance the value of the original work.

The whole volume shows careful editing and it will take first rank as a personal narrative dealing with the Mexican War. The whole story is so well told that it is hard to put it aside until it has been read through.

EDWARD McMAHON.

Robert Lucas. By John C. Parish [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambough]. (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907, pp. XI. 356.)

This study of Robert Lucas is a valuable volume dealing with a Western pioneer's activities as a soldier in the War of 1812, as a politician, legislator and Governor of Ohio, and as Territorial Governor of Iowa. The study is valuable not because Lucas was a great actor in any of these capacities, but rather because he was such a good type of the men that have filled and are still filling these positions in the newer Western States. Lucas was essentially a Western pioneer, self-made, partially educated, independent, somewhat dogmatic, set in his opinions even to the point of being stubborn, but, notwithstanding, possessed of a good fund of common sense and practical ability. In addition to the clear delineation of Lucas' character, the book contains a wealth of material setting forth the life of a pioneer State and its problems. With but slight modifications, similar characters can be found working out similar problems in State government in many States of the far West to-day.

Robert Lucas' paternal ancestors were Quakers who came from England in the days of William Penn. When Buck County ceased to be a pioneer county the family moved across the mountains into Western Virginia, where Robert Lucas was born. By 1800 the Lucas family had settled in the Scioto river valley,

Ohio, and still later Robert Lucas moved westward to Iowa. Prospective troubles over the transfer of the Louisiana Purchase led to a call for troops in Ohio, and Lucas raised a company. During the trouble with England over the Chesapeake he was again active in raising militia and later took an active and important part in the War of 1812.

As a legislator and Governor of Ohio Lucas does not take rank as a statesman, but he seems to have fulfilled the needs of the situation in a creditable manner. There were no particularly difficult problems of statecraft to solve, hence no statesman was needed. As Governor he warmly advocated a free public school system, favored an efficient militia as a protection against foreign invasion and Indian outbreaks, urged the building of roads, bridges and canals, and later, when Governor of Iowa, added railroads to his list of necessary improvements.

"The disputes over the interior division lines of the country have sometimes developed into open conflicts. Here the local feelings rise to the highest pitch. With angry squatters shaking their fists at each other across the line that separates their claims, and two equally angry Governors, forgetting their dignity and challenging each other in responsive proclamations, the scene often presents a ludicrous as well as serious aspect." (227.) It was Governor Lucas' misfortune to become involved in two of these disputes, the first with Michigan while he was Governor of Ohio, the second with Missouri while he was Governor of Iowa Territory.

To enter into the many political campaigns in which Lucas took a part, or to attempt to sketch pioneer life in Ohio or Iowa in Robert Lucas' time would carry us too far afield. It is sufficient to say that it is well done in this volume.

Mr. Parish has made a diligent search for material bearing on Lucas' career and presents his story clearly and convincingly. Barring an occasional slip, the work is very well written. Abundant notes point to the authorities consulted, and there is a good index.

EDWARD McMAHON.

Samuel Freeman Miller. By Charles Noble Gregory, A. M., LL. D. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907, pp. IX. 217.)

The activities of a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States removed from the stirring activities of practical politics

and administration do not furnish a great abundance of material for a popular biography. Judge Miller served twenty-eight years on the supreme bench, and, aside from his judicial decisions, has left little material upon which to base a biographical sketch. In all he wrote seven hundred eighty-three opinions, of which one hundred forty-seven deal with constitutional questions, but Dean Gregory has not attempted to set forth an exhaustive estimate of them.

Judge Miller's father was a farmer of German ancestry who emigrated from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, where Judge Miller was born in 1816. Young Miller graduated from Transylvania University and began the practice of medicine in his native State. Life as a country doctor afforded him little satisfaction and he soon began secretly to study the law books of a friend whose office he shared, and in 1847 was admitted to the bar. Immediately he began an active participation in political affairs. He was strongly opposed to slavery and allied himself to the Whig party as a follower and lieutenant of Cassius M. Clay. In the struggle to amend the Kentucky constitution so as to do away with slavery, Miller took a leading part, and when that movement failed he moved with his slaves to Iowa, where he set them free. In Iowa he rose rapidly to a prominent place at the local bar, and continued his political activities as a Whig until the birth of the Republican party, of which he became a local leader. In 1862 Lincoln appointed him justice of the Supreme Court, and he held the distinction of being the first justice of the Supreme Court appointed from the States west of the Mississippi river.

It is to be regretted that the plan of the series has not been set aside in the case of Judge Miller to allow a more exhaustive characterization of his judicial opinions. Dean Gregory was apparently competent to do this for us, and the value of the book would have been increased manyfold thereby. As it is, we find a very brief chapter on Judge Miller as an associate justice. Miller's part in interpreting the constitution during the Rebellion and Reconstruction is estimated by Dean Gregory as second only to that of John Marshall in an earlier period. He writes: "Without the rank or distinction which belongs to the Chief Justiceship, the controlling mind in the solution of the momentous questions of constitutional construction during the Rebellion and the period of Reconstruction, involving the scope and meaning of the great amendments, was Samuel Freeman Miller, of Iowa. * * *" (2).

Perhaps the most widely known decision of Judge Miller is that rendered in the case, Loan Association v. Topeka, 20 Wallace 655, in which he used this language: "To lay with one hand the power of the government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprise and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation. * * * Taxes are burdens or charges imposed by the legislature upon persons or property to raise money for public purposes" (24). Judge Miller, it will be remembered, was one of the members of the electoral commission selected to untangle the Hayes-Tilden election difficulty. Of his acts in this connection Dean Gregory says: "From the first, Justice Miller, as was inevitable from the type of his mind, took an active and imperious part with the Republican majority, pressing for expedition and exclusion of testimony and acting throughout with the eight commissioners who outvoted the seven. It need not be alluded to as a judicial service, but it was a political service for which his undoubting and resolute disposition especially fitted him" (32).

On the personal side the book leaves us to form our estimate mainly from extracts of eulogies delivered by judges and members of the bar, and it seems unnecessary to insist that eulogies, especially of intimate associates, are of doubtful value in forming estimates of character. Here and there phrases and sentences seem to warn us that another side of the eminent judge has not been fully revealed. We are told that Judge Miller's interpretations of counsel "were apt to be pertinent and sometimes disastrous to the speaker, carrying the assurance that the court 'was not with him and never would be'" (59); that "the scant ceremony with which he dealt with tediousness or delay left many wounds among the bar of his circuit" (59); that a young lawyer who had submitted a motion "met with the usual humiliating treatment" (60); and, finally, we are told the story of the young lawyer who expressed his views of the judge's methods by saying: "I'm going up to be stamped all over by that damned old hippopotamus" (60). These little hints leave us unsatisfied, and we long to see the judge as he was seen through the eyes of the members of his bar.

Four appendices make up one hundred forty-three pages of the book. Three of these are addresses delivered by Judge

Miller, and the fourth is a complete calendar of his opinions. The first address, on "The Formation of the Constitution," and the second, on "The Value of Authorities," are good pieces of work. The third address, "Socialism and Society," is of no value except as it throws light on the working of Judge Miller's mind. Socialists, anarchists, nihilists, communists and single-taxers are grouped together and their declared object "avowedly in some cases, in most of them apparently, is the destruction of organized society" (154). Their doctrines, declared the eminent jurist, imply that the man who has made a fortune is a robber and an oppressor of the poor "because he does not divide these things equally among all his neighbors, among his enemies and his friends alike, among the good as well as the evil, among the industrious and the lazy, and among the criminal and the pious" (157).

The books are well indexed and carefully edited, and the State Historical Society of Iowa is to be commended for beginning the series and setting a worthy example for the other State Historical Societies. We need more biographies of the men who lived their lives and played their part in the affairs of our States.

EDWARD McMAHON.

The Great Plains; the Romance of Western American Exploration, Warfare, and Settlement, 1527-1870. By Randall Parrish. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1907. $1.75.)

The task which Mr. Parrish sets for himself in his latest book is nothing less than to condense within the limits of a single volume the romantic history of "The Great Plains." Geographically, his subject covers that vast area of the United States extending from the Mississippi river to the Rocky mountains and from Texas to North Dakota; chronologically, it subtends the period from 1527 to 1870.

To successfully outline, even in briefest form, the history of this broad field and period, to trace from cause to effect the various movements, and to give to each event its own proper niche and proportion, is assuredly no mean undertaking. Mr. Parrish does not attempt so much, but limits himself to writing what he terms "romantic history." He has not attempted a scholarly work, but frankly states the purpose of the book in the closing sentence of the preface: "It is written largely for those to whom history has been heretofore dry and unpalatable, and my sole

desire is that it may awaken within their hearts a fresh interest in those who were the pioneers in the redemption of the great plains."

An examination of the book shows that the author has consistently adhered to his purpose. He has narrated events and incidents of a romantic character without stopping to consider them in their economic or political aspects. His book will have small interest to the careful student of history, but to the average reader, for whom the work is written, it should prove highly useful and entertaining. Instead of a dry lecture, to which a popular audience objects, here is a veritable moving-picture performance. First upon the screen comes the flora and the fauna of the region upon which are shown the aboriginal tribes of Indians, as it were, upon their native heath. Next in order are shown the first Spaniards and the French explorers, followed by glimpses of the fur traders and the first emigrants. Succeeding pictures illustrate the reign of the prairie schooner, the overland stage, the pony express, army life on the plains, incidents of the Indian wars, the beginnings of settlements, the days of the cattle kings, the building of the first railroad, and the rise of the border towns. The author furnishes running commentary upon the scenes portrayed, and somehow succeeds in reproducing the very atmosphere and spirit of the plains.

A matter for regret is the seemingly small use of source material in the preparation of the book. Quotations scattered here and there throughout the book, as well as the author's note of acknowledgment immediately following the preface, would indicate a too-ready dependence upon the accounts of secondary authorities. To the acceptance of secondary authority may be attributed such a statement as that made upon page 143 as to the purpose of Dr. Whitman's famous ride of 1842-43.

The volume forms, upon the whole, a welcome addition to the literature of the westward movement, if, indeed, that subject can be said to have a literature of its own. During the last few years several historical writers have given attention to the development of Western America, but it still remains a practically untilled field. So recently as the year 1905 the historian, McMaster, in his presidential address before the American Historical Association, refers as follows to this gap in the published records of American history:

"No feature of national existence is more fascinating than the westward movement of population, the great march across

the continent. Yet we have no history of this migration—no account of the causes which led to it; of the founding of great States; of the paths along which the people moved; of the economic conditions which now accelerated, now retarded it; of the ever-changing life on the frontier as the frontier was pushed steadily westward over the Alleghenies, across the valley of the Mississippi and over the plains, to disappear in our own day at the foot of the Rocky mountains." (Annual report of the American Historical Association, 1905, vol. 1, p. 57.)

The growth of Western United States to economic and political importance will draw increasing attention to its history, and the appearance of Mr. Parrish's book at this time is noteworthy. Mechanically, the book is attractively gotten up. The paper and type are good, and the illustrations are excellent. The title page bears the imprint of A. C. McClurg & Co. of Chicago. Western readers are glad to note that this firm, long established in the book-selling, importing and stationery business, has gradually developed a publishing department and is now making a specialty of books on Western history.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

American Historical Association.

The Quarterly presents two important articles in this issue which were read at the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association, these two papers being read in one of the five special conferences. For that reason they will not appear in the regular publication of the proceedings. Historians and other students on the Pacific Coast are deeply interested in Oriental problems, and it is therefore a pleasure to lay before them the papers by President Charles D. Tenney of Pei Yang College and Professor K. Asakawa of Yale University.

The meeting was a brilliant success and Madison, "the city of laws and education," certainly showed herself a cordial and appreciative host of more than a thousand scholarly men and women. The proceedings will be published in full in the annual report published by the United States Government, and the papers will appear in the American Historical Review.

Professor George B. Adams of Yale was elected President and Professor Frederick J. Turner of Wisconsin, Vice-President, for the ensuing year. These honors are among the greatest to be achieved by historians in America. Next year the First Vice-President, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, will be promoted to the presidency.

Tribute to the Pioneers.

Henry E. Reed, Director of Exploitation of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, has written from Washington City to Director General Nadeau that on February 3 Senator Samuel H. Piles received such an ovation as has been seldom, if ever, given to a young Senator. The galleries were packed to hear the Senator's great speech on the Exposition and the West. The address was a masterly effort and deserved the showers of compliments from his fellow senators and the prominent men assembled in the audience. Every pioneer and every one of the newcomers who are interested in the history of the Old Oregon country should secure from the Senator a copy of the complete address. Space is taken here for the concluding sentences, giving, in part, the Senator's glowing tribute to the pioneer:

"And, sir, who peopled that region and founded those cities? It was the pioneer and his children, who fought, with a desperation surpassing the heroic, the most effective battle of all—the battle of the supremacy of the white man over the aborigines and the elements, coupled with isolation and want, that that immense stretch of country might not fall into alien hands. That they prevailed, sir, history records.

"But, Mr. President, had the pioneer been as timorous or as indifferent as were some of the statesmen of their age, their efforts would have been but 'a twice-told tale,' remembered only as are 'the footprints of the traveler over the sand;' and that land, formerly known as the 'Oregon Country,' instead of being, as it now is, the common heritage of all our people, would be today one of the possessions of the British Empire.

"It is therefore fitting, in view of their achievements, that Congress should aid the people of the Pacific Northwest in their desire to exhibit to an astonished world the progress that in so brief a space of time, and under such trying and difficult conditions, has been made in the arts, in science, in commerce, in agriculture, in mining, and in manufacturing, and in all, sir, that goes to make a great and glorious land."

The Oregon Trail.

Ezra Meeker, the venerable pioneer, has returned to his Puget Sound home after his remarkable and arduous undertaking of retracing the famous Oregon Trail with an ox-team. A number of his friends and of historians gathered at the home of his son-in-law, Eben S. Osborne, in Seattle, to receive Mr. Meeker's report and suggestions about permanently marking the trail. He said Congressman Will E. Humphrey had introduced a bill to accomplish that desired end, and before the meeting adjourned it resolved to recommend to President Roosevelt that, in case the Humphrey bill is enacted, Mr. Meeker, George H. Himes, of Portland, Oregon, and Clarence B. Bagley, of Seattle, be chosen as a commission to carry out its provisions. Mr. Meeker's hardihood in carrying on the work up to this point is meeting with deserved praise and approval on every side.

Honoring Whitman's Memory.

Walla Walla was the scene of interesting exercises on November 29, 1907. It was the sixtieth anniversary of the martyr-

dom of Marcus Whitman and his wife during the terrible Indian massacre at the old Whitman mission.

Governor Mead and his staff, troops of the United States cavalry, with the band, students of Whitman College, survivors of the massacre, pioneers and many citizens, made a pilgrimage to the grave and listened to part of the programme, which was concluded in the evening. Addresses were made by Governor Mead, President Penrose of Whitman College, and others. The address by Edwin Eells, whose father was a colleague of Whitman, is reproduced in this issue of the Quarterly.

One announcement, that brought forth applause, was made by Rev. J. C. Reid, to the effect that the debt that had hung over the Whitman monument for ten years had at last been cancelled.

Bibliography of Pacific Northwest History.

Mr. Charles W. Smith, of the University of Washington Library, whose expansion of the Dewey Decimal Classification appears in this issue of the Quarterly, has initiated a movement toward the preparation of a co-operative bibliography of Northwest history. His plan is for each important library in the region of Old Oregon to prepare a slip list of the books and pamphlets in its possession relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest. These slips are then to be incorporated into one straight alphabetical list, representing the resources of the libraries co-operating. By means of an initlial letter or abbreviation placed after each item, will be indicated the libraries in which each book or pamphlet can be found. The list when printed will thus become a catalogue of each individual collection, as well as a combined check list of the whole.

Such a check list has long been needed, but its preparation has seemed too laborious for one person to attempt. The present co-operative plan seems to be a feasible one, and we believe that its success is assured.

Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

The fourth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held in San Francisco on November 29 and 30, 1907. The programme was as follows:

(1) A general session on Friday afternoon, beginning at 2:30 o'clock, with papers by Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California, on "The State of Chile in the Last Decades

of the Eighteenth Century;" by Professor H. L. Cannon, of Leland Stanford Junior University, on "Some Inherent Difficulties in the Study of History;" by Mr. John Jewett Earle, of Oakland, on "The Sentiment of the People of California with Respect to the Civil War;" by Professor C. A. Duniway, of Leland Stanford Junior University, on "Political and Civil Disabilities of the Negro in California, 1849-1861."

(2) The annual banquet at the Hotel Jefferson, corner of Turk and Gough streets, facing Jefferson Square, at six o'clock Friday evening, open to invited guests as well as members. The price per plate was $2.00.

(3) An evening session, with the annual address by President W. D. Fenton of Portland, on "Edward Dickenson Baker;" a paper by Professor Max Farrand, of Leland Stanford Junior University, on "The West and the Declaration of Independence;" an account of the resources of the Bancroft Library, by Professor H. Morse Stephens and others, of the University of California.

(4) A session on the teaching of history and government on Saturday morning at 10 o'clock. Mr. Anderson, of the San Francisco State Normal School, led a discussion on the California State text-book history, and Dr. Roberts, of the University of California, presented the subject of local government.

(5) A business session, for the consideration of reports of committees and the election of officers.

Teachers Interested in Local History.

Teachers in other parts of the State of Washington, as well as general readers, will be interested in the announcement of a programme of a teachers' meeting recently held in Wilbur, Lincoln County. It was devoted wholly to the history of the Pacific Northwest, and besides several appropriate musical numbers consisted of the following:

The Discovery of Puget Sound.....Miss Phelps
The Romance of Astoria.....Miss Dalton
Dr. John McLoughlin.....Miss Lyons
The Log School House on the Columbia.....Miss Fox
The Oregon Pioneer.....Mr. Matthews
The Two Islands.....Miss Phillips
Our Western Poets.....Miss Wilson
The Bridge of the Gods.....Miss Chandler
Was Marcus Whitman the Savior of Oregon?.....Mr. Kohlstaedt

Oregon Missionary Honored.

The well-known pioneer clergyman and missionary of Oregon—Rev. A. L. Lindsley, D. D., LL. D.—was beautifully re-

membered in South Salem, New York, last December. A memorial tablet in the Presbyterian church of that city was unveiled. During the exercises the following poem was read. It was written by Marion P. Lindsley, the wife of A. A. Lindsley, of Portland, Oregon:

A MEMORIAL.

Give me a mind, Oh Lord, like his, most just
To choose between the right, the true and wrong,
With mercy generous, and in action strong.

Give me a heart like his, steadfast and deep
To see temptation and forgive the fall,
As Christ, Thy Son, forgave the sins of all.

Give me a soul like his, with wings to soar,
Uplifting on its pinions to the skies
The souls of others that else could not rise

Revolutionary Letter by Baron de Kalb.

The study of history constantly reveals unexpected sources in out of the way places. The Library of the State of Washington has an old letter written by Baron de Kalb. The story of how it came there is itself interesting history.

On August 9, 1898, Herbert Bashford, then Librarian, received a letter from Jesse Baker, Assessor of Wahkiakum County, which contained the following information:

"I don't remember whether I told you how I came in possession of the letter I am sending. I will do so now. I was a member of Co. H., 34th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and in March, 1862, several companies of my regiment, mine among the number, captured Columbia, Tenn., and occupied the court house for quarters. Previously several companies of a Confederate regiment had occupied the same building, and in the building was a room occupied by an antiquarian society. Before the Confederates left they had scattered the property of said society all over the floor. In looking over the letters on the floor, I found the one enclosed, and also one from Gen. Nathaniel Green to Gen. Washington, and also a twenty-pound colonial bill. These three I sent back to Polo, Ogle County, Illinois. Baron de Kalb's letter I recovered while back in Illinois last summer, but the last two seem to be lost entirely.

"The two holes in the letter I think were caused by being torn from some kind of clasp in which the letters were confined; but the general meaning of the letter can readily be determined so one can get the sense of the whole. In looking over the history of the United States, I should judge that Baron de Kalb

was killed a short time after writing the letter, in fact, I should think in the next fight he had with the British, of whom he is trying to get intelligence as to strength and position."

Mr. Baker's conjecture about the Baron's death following close upon the writing of this letter is well borne out by the brief sketch in the Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography. The letter was written on July 7, 1780, and the Battle of Camden took place on August 13. Says the above book: "Neither party was aware of the close proximity of its opponent until the advanced guards met, about two o'clock in the morning. In the battle that ensued soon after sunrise, Kalb commanded on the American right and was driving his adversary, Lord Rawdon, before him, when the defeat of our left wing exposed his flank and rear to the assaults of Webster and Tarleton. Kalb was thus attacked on all sides, but remained during the whole encounter, fighting bravely to the last. Bareheaded and dismounted, with sword in hand, he engaged in one personal encounter after another, encouraging his men with his voice as well as his example, till he had received eleven wounds. His lieutenant, Du Buysson, saved him from instant death. He died three days afterward and was buried at Camden. A marble monument was erected to his memory by the citizens of that town, the corner stone being laid by General Lafayette in 1825."

The letter, as near as can be made out, is as follows:

Camp on Deep river near Wilcoxes.
July 7th, 1780.

Sir:

The provisions I expected not only for four or fi.....ys march but als.....all magazin of some days.....here to ha.....to in case of necess.....coming in.....that it will be imposs.....or me to move.....several days; as soon.....it will be possible,.....will do myself the honor to acquaint you therewith if you will please to inform me of your direction and march. The troops here are greatly distressed for want of meat, the men of our party that are sent out to drive them are not at all proper for that business —the more as they have no horses: they have much to do to get cattle and lose them again in the woods.

If you could favor me with a party of your light horse-men to be employed in, and provide for the purpose, I should be highly obliged to you.

As we act with great caution when once at Cole's bridge, the the enemy's reinforcing at Cheraws, it would be very necessary to have the best intelligence of their forces, situation, and design. If you had two or more proper officers or other persons to go among them, and get the best information, it might be of great service to us all.

It is possible the enemy's informed of our march and perhaps of our forces, to collect all theirs to march against us, being much superior to us in horse, and for what I know in infantry too, it would be unfortunate to go beyond Cole's, especially if we were not assured of the enemy's position, and of having laid in a certain quantity of flour in our rear on Deep river—(And indeed it would be necessary to have magazins in several other parts of this State)

I have sent on to-day to post at Cole's bridge, the South Carolina Volunteers about fifty in number, and to employ themselves in collecting flour, cattle &c towards our arrival.

With great.....and esteem, I ..... the honor to be

Dea.....

Your very hu..... nd most

Obedient Servant

THE BARON DE KALB.

The Hon'ble

M. G. Caswell.

On the back was written: Express. Public Service. The Hon. Maj. General Caswell, Head Quarters.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

By George Wilkes.

[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the United States Title.

[Continued from Last Quarterly.]

In these, Nature herself volunteers her assistance to the enterprise. No ocean is so remarkably adapted to steam navigation as the Pacific. Its tranquil surface is scarcely ever agitated by a storm, and propitious winds and currents accelerate the course of the mariner across its bosom. The general motion of its waters is from west to east, at the average velocity of twenty-eight miles a day. In consequence, the sea appears on some portions of the coast to flow constantly from the land, and vessels sail with great celerity from Acapulco in Mexico to the Philippine Islands, on the coast of Asia. The N. E. trade winds blow almost uninterruptedly between latitudes 5° and 23° north, and with the assistance of the currents and the flow of the sea, enable vessels within this region to sail from America to Asia, almost without changing their sails. Our course to the Indies from the mouth of the Columbia, or from the Straits of San Juan de Fuca, would be Southwest to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence, directly along the twentieth parallel, across. Returning by a more northwardly route, advantage would be taken of the polar currents, which set N. W. towards the Straits of Behring, and also of the variable winds prevailing in the higher latitudes. Having crossed our continent in seven days, we span the Pacific in twenty-five more, and thus, in thirty-two, reach the ports of China; by the same route back, the products of the East may land upon the shores of Europe in forty-six days; a period of time but little more than one-third of that now taken to make the ordinary passages around the southern extremities of America and Africa.

The view that this opens to the mind, independent of its internal benefits, staggers speculation with its immensity, and stretches beyond all ordinary rules of calculation. A moderate forecast may, however, foresee the following results: The riches of the most unlimited market in the world would be thrown open to our enterprise, and, obeying the new impulse thus imparted to it, our commerce would increase till every ocean billow between us and the China sea would twinkle with a sail. By the superior facilities conferred upon us by our position and control of the route, we should become the common carrier of the world for the India trade. "Britannia rules the waves" would dwindle to an empty boast, and England would have to descend from her arrogant assumption of empire o'er the sea to the level of a suppliant's tone, in common with the great and small of the European powers, for the benefits of this avenue of nations. The employment as common carrier could be secured to us by the imposition of a tonnage duty, heavy enough to amount to a prohibition, upon all foreign bottoms arriving at our Pacific Coast. There is nothing remarkably selfish, neither is there anything repugnant to fair dealing in this regulation; we are deserving of one special advantage as a premium for conferring this benefit upon all, and we have the example of Great Britain herself to justify us in the adoption of the rule. The rapid and excessive increase of our commercial marine would necessarily follow this result. Encouraged by the comparative ease and safety of its service, and enticed by the liberal wages which the demand for so many hands would ensure, thousands of our young men, whom the dangers and privations of a seafaring life have heretofore deterred from carrying out the natural desire of visiting foreign climes, would embrace the sailor's occupation, and a nursery would thus be established, from whose exhaustless sources the demand of our increasing navy would always find a supply.

Our contiguity and other peculiar advantages would ensure us the pre-emption of all the markets of the Pacific. Our rapidly increasing cotton and other factories, under this impulse, would increase anew; our extending agricultural operations would widen till they waved their golden harvest o'er and o'er the land, and together they would distribute their products along the western coasts and diffuse them among the islands of the ocean. In return, Oceana, whose trade and consumption both would greatly multiply by the same imparted motive, would pour her treasures into the bosom of our country, and render us, by her liberal supply of tropical productions, independent of the West Indies. Our exportations of flour, at the exorbitant rates which it commands in the markets of these regions, would alone be a source of immense wealth, and, on the other hand, the profits of a new article of import from the Coast of Peru, can scarcely be regarded as of less importance. Guano, but little known in 1840,

is now exciting the deep attention of the cultivators of the soil of all nations, and to such an extent has its trade increased, that from the importation of but a few tons five years ago, six hundred vessels of a large class are now employed in supplying the wants of Great Britain and Ireland alone. It is already beginning to be introduced into this country, and ere long we may expect to see its supply increase in a corresponding ratio with the European demand. Now, it comes to us surcharged with the expenses of a long and dangerous voyage; then, it would be obtained at one-half its present charges, and we should be furnished with the most valuable fertilizer known to man, for the benefit of the impoverished portions of our Oregon soil. The chief obstacle to the dense population of that territory is, therefore, providentially obviated.*

Our Whale fishery and other branches of commerce in the Pacific, would be better protected, and the prosecutors of the former would have convenient ports to refit in; to seek a hasty refuge in case of war, and to obtain the speedy means of redress from, should they be made the victims of the outrage of any foreign naval power. An additional proof of the necessity of increasing our naval power in this quarter is furnished in the late account of the ravages of the Pirates of the Asiatic Isles, upon European vessels.

Our relations with China would be guarded and strengthened, and in case a necessity should arise to redress a wrong, resent an insult, or resist an aggression, we should be able, helped by the speed of our advices, to throw a preponderating military force there three months previous to any European power.

There are other views which open at this stage of the analysis, upon which it will not be improper to bestow a share of our consideration.

The vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean has been as yet but imperfectly explored, and there is reason to believe there are many islands reposing on its bosom whose fertile shores have never met the eye of man. Some of these ocean gems lie directly in our eastward or westward track, and their value to us as resting places and points of supply, as well as posts for the erection of our fortifications, would be inestimable. This brings to mind the fact that there is one important branch of commercial policy, hitherto overlooked and neglected by us, which the course of things now call upon us to adopt; and that is the securing under our own flag and rule of maritime posts in the different fields of our commercial enterprise. We may be told that this is an infraction of our constitutional economy, a violation of the spirit of our institutions, and that it springs from a wild and disordered lust for power which will eventuate in our dissolution; in short, every argument will be brought forward by philosophers learned in mill-stones, to oppose the aggrandisement of the country on the principle of aggregation. These sachems have been told in

* "There will be no difficulty," says a work written in Liverpool on the above subject, "in obtaining from the coast of Peru for the next 1,000 years a supply of guano adequate to the wants of the British farmer."

their primary classes at school, that Greece and Rome fell by their unbounded ambition, and it would take little short of a defeat of Nature to dispossess them of the idea. They therefore make it a primary object to denounce every extension of territory as demoralising and destructive, and point triumphantly to History to establish the assertion. Admitting this to be the case, though it applied to the Greeks and Romans, in an early age, and might apply to any other nation in the same cycle, it does not apply to us in the present time. We are a new people, in a new era, acting on new principles, and working out a new and grand problem for the benefit of mankind. "History," to make a grotesque application of a common term—"is behind the age." But aside from our exception from their rule, their proposition is false as to its facts, and carries absurdity in its very face.

How did Greece become great enough to decline—and how did Rome from a speck upon a hill-top win the Imperial diadem that marked the mastery of a world? Surely not by building fences around their original limits, and vowing never to go beyond. Such a resolution would share credit for sagacity with the refusal of a handsome fortune by a needy man, because at some day he must die and leave it, and might also be compared with that stretch of forecast which would induce a statesman to refuse all worldly power and honours, because forsooth, they must descend to a successor. Nations do not perish in a moment; they are neither swallowed up in the earth like Korah and his company, nor do they go out like the snuff of a candle; they have degrees to their decline, and while it is perfectly easy to detect all the natural causes of their decrease, we have no excuse in closing our eyes upon a fanciful hypothesis, which finds its basis only in the imagination.

How did Greece and Rome fall? Not by the extension of territory as a cause, (though to maintain its extreme points weakened her in her decline,) but by the vices which crept into her constitution; from the progress of those corruptions which are inseparable from aristocratical systems; from ignorance of the true principles of government, and consequently from the effect of unequal laws and unequal representation. The distant tributary, suffering under the exactions of a subaltern despot and his military bands, being too far removed from the parent government to represent its grievances within a period to give redress a value, and at the same time, too far removed to dread its enervated power, threw off the allegiance which only imposed onerous conditions and conferred no benefits but a humiliating peace. The example of defection thus safely set, was followed by another and another, and attacked at the same time by a new, vigorous and innumerable enemy, Rome fell. She fell through her own debasement, and her genius retired before the superior vigor and energy of an uncorrupted race. The extreme extension of territory in an age when travelling could only be accomplished with insuperable difficulty would doubtless rather weaken than strengthen a nation's power, from the difficulty, of striking rap-

idly at rebellion, but where the communications are as speedy and complete as they are in the present day, the comparison will not apply. Rail Roads, Steam Engines, and the Magnet, have "annihilated space, and exploded all theories which rested on the accidents of time and distance;" an expanded order of intelligence has shown the benefits of union in a common system, and though our dominion stretched throughout the boundaries of this hemisphere, with the elements for our agents, and the lightning of heaven for our slave, we could bind its extremities together in a moment, and throw the impulses of our power from end to end, with the rapidity of thought.

By overlooking the means of protecting our marine by the discovery or purchase of those island stations, we are behind every nation in the world in commercial sagacity. France rears her fortifications on the coasts of Morocco, in the islands of the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans, and by a late arrangement, even plants her standard in the very mouth of Canton. The Dutch own the richest of the Asiatic isles, and Spain rules absolute in the Philippines. Russia, not content with over 7,000,000 square miles, extending from central Europe to the extremity of eastern Asia, has made a lodgment on our continent, and marks the line of her possessions to the North, as a bar to our farther advance; and even Portugal and Denmark, hold their warlike posts in many parts of the Atlantic ocean. The acquisitions of England are so well known they hardly need recapitulation. It has been well said, that the Sun never sets upon her dominions, and that the thunder of her morning gun from post to post around the world, falls into the measure of a continuous salute.

Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian Isles, give her the control of the entire Mediterranean; St. Helena, Ascension Island, Cape Town and Mauritius, keep watch along the coasts of Africa; she has settlements, fortifications and territorial governments over all the shores of Hindostan, and her power extends throughout the whole of the Eastern region. Further south, her empire spreads over the whole of Australasia;—Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, the Bahamas and her West India Islands, command the entire stretch of our Atlantic coast and the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, while Canada environs us upon our Northern border; yet probably England would be the first to assure us, in connection with some of our own good advisers, that extension of territory is the sure cause of a nation's eventual destruction. She, however, pursues this policy herself, with the knowledge that it adds to her aggrandisement and power at every new stage of its consumption. With a view of aiding her steam navigation across the Pacific, she has lately purchased a little island in it, on which two coal mines have been discoverd; she has not even thought a miserable patch of ground on the Mosquito shore,* too insignificant to seize, and she is now, doubtless, intriguing for the prize of Cuba and the Californias. Russia is ready to devour Turkey or engulf another Poland. Aus-

* This was seized on pretence of it being a bequest from an African chief.

tria has long looked with a greedy eye upon the plains of Italy; and every power on the face of the earth, seek new acquisitions with the utmost avidity; while the United States, as if she had not recovered from the astonishment of falling suddenly into the possession of 2,000,000 square miles 68 years ago, folds her unassuming hands, and with an amiable bow which betrays the modesty of her character, exclaims, "thank you, Gentlemen Powers, not a bit more if you please!"

The opposers of the course of policy we advocate, if not able to defeat it on the grounds of reason or precedent, will find their last resource in the tyranny of prejudice, and the opinion of Washington, will doubtless be appealed to, as a settler of the proposition out of hand. The age, however, has outgrown this species of control. Our notions of liberty have become extended to the degree that embraces the right of judging for ourselves; and we feel no fear of startling the horror of our readers by the assertion that there are at least half a million of people in the United States who, from the new principles which science has evoked in the present generation, are better judges of the effects of the adoption of this policy, now, than Washington, or any other man, who died forty-five years ago, could possibly have been. There is too much of this knuckling to precedent and old opinion. We can benefit by the experience of a past age, without becoming the hereditary bondsmen of their ideas; we can treat its wisdom with all the consideration it deserves without presenting the absurd spectacle of a people claiming to be free, who have absolutely signed away freedom's main component in the liberty of mind.

Again, vast countries still lie in the fairy regions of the East, the productions and resources of which are scarcely known to us, and that only await the civilising influence of such a scheme as this to throw down their barriers of prejudice and superstition, and embrace, with the rest of mankind, the social blessings of the world. Of this nature and character is the opulent empire of Japan. Though second but to China itself, it holds no intercourse with foreigners, and only permits one nation (the Dutch) to land upon its dominions. Ought it to be too much for American diplomacy to effect its commercial and social redemption and throw its rich markets open to our enterprise.

The Oregon route, should this project be carried through, would, for its shortness, for its safety, for its comparative comfort and the accuracy with which the duration of its travel could be calculated, be selected in preference to any other by all travellers to the East, or the regions of the Pacific. These would comprise among their number ambassadors and their suites; consuls and other government officers to China and the Indies, to New Holland, to the ports of the western coast, and the islands of Polynesia, and enticed by the facilities afforded to them, many who otherwise would never have attempted the perils and discomforts of the old voyage, would make a trip to the Indies or some island paradise in the Pacific, leaving us as they passed leisurely through our territory, a portion of their

wealth. Add to this source of profit, the toll of the enormous amount of foreign merchandize which must seek this avenue, or be shut out from a market altogether, and the postages which the great number of letters pouring in from every part of Europe would afford, and its revenues would be immense indeed. Yet the sources of all this vast income would be surplus profit, for a short experience would prove that our internal trade, communications and postages, would not only pay the current expenses of the road of themselves, but would afford a liberal per centage on the amount of capital invested.

Experience has proved that no direction which can be given to human enterprise, is so active and effectual in developing the resources of a country as that involved in rail-roads; and without any regard to its stupendous national advantages, both external and domestic, immediate and ultimate, it would be found that the result of this project would justify the undertaking merely as a measure of internal improvement.

The navigable distance to the mouth of the Columbia is now, by the route around Cape Horn, about 19,000 miles from the port of New York; by the proposed route it would be less than 3,000; which affords the enormous saving of 16,000 miles. The natural effect of such a communication across the continent would be the rapid settlement of Oregon, the sudden growth of a great commercial and manufacturing city at its Pacific terminus, and the establishment of a naval station on Puget's Sound. For both of these latter objects, every facility is providentially afforded. Fine building stone abounds in every direction, the best timber in the world stud its forests, the country in the neighborhood of the ocean abounds in favorable sites for water power, and for the sustenance of steam navigation, large mines of coal are to be found in different parts of the country. For the establishment of a naval station, the harbors of St. Jean de Fuca and Puget's Sound, offer, as we have already seen, peculiar facilities for the erection of the works of a great maritime nation.

The cost of the work is the next branch of inquiry that demands our attention. For a guide to an estimate of this we have the tabular statements of the American Rail-road Journal, (a reliable authority), which by a late computation, sets the aggregate number of miles of rail-way in this country at 5,000; the cost of which has been $125,000,000, or $25,000 per mile.

As a portion of this expense is occasioned by land damages, or land for the track, most of which lies in thickly settled, and, consequently, valuable sections of the country, we are entitled to a deduction in favor of the work under consideration. The rate of this may be obtained from the example of the Boston and Lowell Rail-road, the land damages on which amounted to $2,842.47 per mile. We will apply this substraction to but 1500 miles of the proposed work, and also strike the amount down to $2,500 a mile, to make a smoother computation. Thus we have

2,500 miles of road at the rate of $25,000 per mile	$62,000,000
A deduction of $2,500 per mile from 1,500 miles	3,750,000
	$58,250,000

Making an aggregate of fifty-eight millions and a quarter for the completion of a design which will render every nation on the globe our commercial tributaries. This, however, is a most extravagant estimate, and the cost will probably not amount to within several millions of that sum. The distance is very roughly calculated from the absence of accurate information on the subject, and the cost is purposely amplified to secure being on the safe side of the calculation. We are justified in the opinion that it will be much less, by the fact that there is at present a private project before Congress which proposes to perform the work at a cost of $25,000,000, on the somewhat modest condition, by the way, of receiving a grant of public lands sixty miles in width along the track, from Illinois to the Pacific ocean.

The cost of the work, therefore, even though it should amount to a hundred or a hundred and fifty millions, is no argument to urge against the undertaking, for it would be disgraceful to our national character to impute to government an inability to carry out a design which is within the scope and means of a company of private individuals. The resources of our country are fully equal to the enterprise. No patriot believes, no statesman dare affirm, that we are unable to sustain the expenses of a three years' war with the most powerful nation of Europe; yet this undertaking, at its utmost estimate, will not cost as much as a three years' war, and instead of leaving us, as a war would do, enfeebled, exhausted, and depressed, its completion would find us regenerated with new life, with our impulses awakened, our energies strengthened, and advancing forward with a rapidity and vigor that would astonish even Destiny itself. Let us deprecate, therefore, from the consideration of this work, that fatal spirit of Economy which has been the Evil Genius to so many a great design.

Economy is the besetting sin of Representative governments. Deceived by its plausible exterior, and tickled with the notion that it is an essential element of primitive simplicity, philosophers, whose mental scope reaches no further than the piling up of particles on the simplest rule of simple addition, oppose its blighting influence to every noble scheme, and advocate it on all occasions and with the utmost vehemence as a cardinal principle. They do not see, or they do not care to see, that the thrift which hoards the seed to defeat us of the harvest, is the grossest form of waste: that it amuses the present with a straw, to cheat the future of its golden fields. They proceed upon the false idea, that the multitude more readily appreciate the rule that saves a penny now, than the design which subtracts one on the hazard of the return of a pound hereafter; and it is through this corrupt and contemptible consideration, this pin-hook angling in the muddy waters after popularity, that we find a prevailing meanness in all our measures of expenditure. A meanness that runs from the remuneration of the chief magistrate of the Union to the purchase of a territory, from the starva-

tion of an African lion,* to the presentation to an Imaun of a piece of lacquered plate;† till at length it degenerates into injustice and dishonesty in its disregard of the rights of revolutionary claimants, and in the non redemption of the continental paper which gave its illusory consideration for the blood of thousands of patriotic hearts.

A sufficient amount of funds can be obtained for the commencement, nay, the entire completion of the whole work, from the sales of the public lands alone. As soon as the survey is made and the route laid out, the land in the immediate line of the track will be sought with the utmost eagerness by speculators, for investments of their capital. It will rise at once to an immense value, and it would not be extravagant to expect that in less than one year from the marking out of the line, more than thirty million of dollars would pour into the treasury of the Receiver of Sales. Additional sales could then be made as the road progressed, to a still better advantage, and before the completion of the work, the Government would find its waste domain of unavailable prairie turned as if by magic into marketable acres.

The road, as it progressed, would be employed up to the point of its completion, by our merchants, our traders, and our emigrants. The great amount of trade and travel, which sets out from this point, (New York,) through the western states to the Mississippi, and returns the same way back, would enable it to go very far toward sustaining its own existence.

It may strike some as superogatory in the Government to undertake this work when it is offered to be accomplished, and all its consequent advantages secured to our hand, by private enterprise; but there are many, and insurmountable reasons why it should be a national undertaking, and not left at the mercy of a band of speculators, whose narrow objects would be private gain.

It should be national, because its objects and purposes are national; and because its accomplishment will advance the glory as well as ensure the safety of our country, and beneficially affect the interests of all its citizens.

Because being the high road for all nations, its transactions will have an important bearing upon our foreign relations, and its regulations will consequently be governmental in their nature and policy.

Because the undertaking is too gigantic for the successful enterprise of individuals, who, if ever able to accomplish it at all, will not be able to do so with that despatch, which the general interests of the country, our views in relation to Oregon, and the ardent wishes of our people demand.

[To be continued.]

* The Emperor of Morocco sent us the present of a lion of the desert, which, after its arrival, barely escaped starvation through the humanity of a showman, who subsequently purchased it for his menagerie.

† The Imaun of Muscat, as an overture for a commercial arrangement, sent us two superb milk white Arabian coursers, with a slave accompanying each. We returned, among other things, a row boat with silver *plated* rowlocks. The pure ore would not have cost a hundred dollars more.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The
Washington Historical Quarterly

THE EVOLUTION OF A LAMENT.

About the middle of the month of September, 1831, there was erected one day on the first bench or level of the bank of the Mississippi river near the northerly limits of the city of St. Louis, an Indian lodge of skins spread over poles—a large lodge, according to one who saw it and has written about it—by at least four Indians who had journeyed upon their Indian horses and with their pack animals from the rendezvous at Green River, in company with a returning trader, probably assisting in bringing in his furs. It was a very common thing for Indians to visit St. Louis in those days, for various reasons, one of which was that General William Clark, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the West, had his headquarters and resided there. These particular Indians, however, had not come from any usual cause, nor were they from any of the prairie tribes. They were from beyond the summit of the Rocky Mountains, where General Clark had traveled twenty-five years before, and they came by reason of religious impulse, having been sent to ascertain how the white people communed with the Great Spirit, and whether religious teachers could not be sent to live in their country and instruct them. Very naturally they were at once taken by the trader to General Clark, who became very much interested in them, and did all that he could to ascertain their wishes and to assist them; but their language was such that they could not be well understood. They seem to have indicated a preference for the Roman Catholic form of worship; two of them died and were buried by the priests in the cemetery of the Cathedral of St. Louis. Soon after this the remaining two, with the assurance of General Clark and others that teachers would be sent to their tribe, seem to have left St. Louis and to have spent the winter at some other place; for in the spring they joined the party ascending the Missouri River

by steamboat, George Catlin, the painter of Indian portraits, being in the same company. One of them died on the way home, the other lived to reach his tribe in safety. The authorities for these statements and further details are to follow. That the publication in 1833 of the fact that such a deputation had visited St. Louis and for such a purpose started the missionary movement toward the Oregon country several years earlier than otherwise would have taken place is quite certain. But so much historic achievement has been claimed as resulting from this incident, and so much of glamor gathered about it, that a brief examination of it **ad seriatim** will be of interest. For the present purpose it will be assumed that the deputation arrived at St. Louis in the early fall of 1831, though later verification may establish the year 1830 as the correct one.

We will first get a glimpse of conditions in 1831 at St. Louis, the chief city west of the Mississippi at that time. No census is available for that year, but in 1828 there had been a census showing a population of a trifle over five thousand; and the next census following, that of 1836, showed more than double that number. From this and other sources of information we may reasonably state that there were at least six thousand people in the city in 1831. It was the headquarters of the fur trade and the trade center of the whole Southwest and Western country beyond the Mississippi River. Of Protestant churches the Presbyterian was organized in 1817 by Rev. Samuel Giddings, the Baptist in 1818, the Episcopal (Christ Church) in 1819 and the Methodist Episcopal in 1820. General Clark was one of the organizers of and a pew holder in Christ Church. Clergymen prominent in the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church resided in St. Louis, and the annual conference meeting of that denomination was held in that city in September of the year 1830 and perhaps also in 1831. So that while it may be said—speaking of sects—that St. Louis had been from the first a Catholic city in point of numbers, in 1831 there were at least four Protestant denominations active there as organizations, and the Methodist Episcopal Church especially so as regards work throughout the State of Missouri.

General Clark was at that time over sixty years of age, a man of strict integrity and untarnished morals, and held in high respect in the city. He was a man of family; his wife died in December of that year. He was a charter member of the St. Louis Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M., and afterward of Missouri Lodge No. 12, and hence could not have been a Roman Catholic.

(For the most of the above facts the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Hon. W. B. Douglas, of the Missouri Historical Society.)

Let us now take up the contemporaneous written accounts of the visit of this deputation of Indians commonly designated as Flatheads, but really from both the Nez Perces (Choppunish) and Flathead (Salishan) tribes. In 1841 there were published the two volumes entitled "Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians, Written During Eight Years' Travel Among the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America in 1832, '33, '34, 35, '36, '37, '38 and '39," containing numbered letters and illustrative plates, by George Catlin. Letter No. 48, in volume II., refers to these Indians, and from that we will copy and designate the quotation as

Catlin's Account.

Mr. Catlin refers to two young men "who were part of a delegation that came across the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis a few years since to inquire for the truth of a representation which they said some white men had made amongst them 'that our religion was better than theirs, and that they would all be lost if they did not embrace it.' Two old and venerable men of this party died in St. Louis, and I traveled 2,000 miles (companion of these two young fellows) toward their own country, and became much pleased with their manners and dispositions. The last mentioned of the two died near the mouth of the Yellowstone River on his way home, with disease which he had contracted in the civilized district, and the other one I have since learned arrived safely among his friends, conveying to them the melancholy intelligence of the deaths of all the rest of the party; but assurances at the same time from General Clark and many reverend gentlemen that the report which they had heard was well founded; and that missionaries—good and religious men—would soon come amongst them to teach this religion, so that they could all understand and have the benefits of it. When I first heard the report of the object of this extraordinary mission across the mountains I could scarcely believe it, but on conversing with General Clark on a future occasion I was fully convinced of the fact." This letter, from internal evidence, was written some time after the year 1837. A portion of it is quoted in Rev. William Barrows' "Oregon: The Struggle for Possession," and in several later books that were evidently based on Barrows, but only so much as suited the purpose of

those authors. By many others who refer to George Catlin as authority this letter is not quoted at all. It is from these "Letters" that we know the year of the first journey of Catlin up the Missouri by steamboat, namely, 1832, which date many writers have misstated, carelessly or to conform to the balance of their story.

Some years ago the writer first found an extended account of all the four deputations sent by the Flathead tribe to St. Louis in the '30s in a book written by L. B. Palladino, S. J., entitled "Indian and White in the Northwest," etc., (pp. 11 and 12) and published in 1894, including the earliest contemporary account of this first deputation of 1831. Father Palladino is, we are told, still living in Spokane, Washington; he was one of the early Catholic missionaries in what is now Montana. But recently there has been afforded an opportunity to read the later book of the late William I. Marshall, of Chicago, that untiring digger after facts, and this same account is given at page 5 et seq. of part II. of his "Acquisition of Oregon," etc., and from that, with permission, we will quote what for convenience we will designate

The Catholic Account.

"The first mention that has ever been found of these four Flatheads is in a letter dated Dec. 31, 1831, from Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, to the editor of the 'Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi,' of Lyons, France, and printed in that publication in 1832 (V. 599, 600). A translation of so much of it as concerns this subject is on pp. 188-9 of Vol. II., of 'Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Society,' of Philadelphia, in an article on 'The Origin of the Flathead Mission,' by Major Edmond Mallet, LL. B., as follows: 'Some three months ago four Indians, who live at the other side of the Rocky Mountains, near the Columbia River, arrived in St. Louis. After visiting General Clark who, in his celebrated travels, had seen the nation to which they belong, and had been well received by them, they came to see our church, and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it. Unfortunately there was no one who understood their language. Sometime afterward two of them fell dangerously ill. I was then absent from St. Louis. Two of our priests visited them, and the poor Indians seemed delighted with their visit. They made signs of the Cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. This sacrament was administered to them; they gave expression of their satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them; they took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly, and it could be taken from them only after their death. It was truly distressing that they could not be spoken to. Their remains were

carried to the church for the funeral, which was conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted with great propriety. They have returned to their country.

"'We have since learned from a Canadian, who has crossed the country which they inhabit, that they belong to the nation of Tetes-Plates (Flatheads), which, as with another called the Pieds-Noirs (or Blackfeet) have received some notions of the Catholic religion from two Indians who had been to Canada, and who had related what they had seen, giving a striking description of the beautiful ceremonies of the Catholic worship, and telling them that it was also the religion of the whites; they have retained what they could of it, and they have learned to make the sign of the Cross and to pray. These nations have not yet been corrupted by intercourse with others; their manners and customs are simple and they are very numerous. We have conceived the liveliest desire to not let pass such a good occasion. Mr. Condamine has offered himself to go to them next spring with another. In the meantime, we shall obtain information on what we have been told, and on the means of travel.' * * *

"The register of burials of the cathedral at St. Louis states that one of these Indians—Narcisse—was buried Oct. 31st, 1831, Rev. Edmond Saulnier officiating, and the second—Paul—was buried on Nov. 17th, 1831, Rev. Benedict Roux officiating. (Records Am. Catholic History Soc., Vol. II., p. 190.)"

In the year of 1835, Dr. Marcus Whitman went as far West as the rendezvous at Green River and visited St. Louis, both going and coming, and a journal of that trip is preserved in the form of a letter to the missionary board at Boston, which is on file among the papers of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. The report of Dr. Whitman as to those Indians, as given on pages 10 and 11 of this same book by Principal Marshall, is as follows:

Dr. Whitman's Account.

"A letter written by Dr. Whitman, really a journal covering May 14th to Dec. 17th, 1835, and covering 16 pp. foolscap,—from which nothing has yet been published.—(but which I copied from the original) says: 'The following is the history of these Indians that came to St. Louis to gain a knowledge of the Christian religion as I received it from the trader under whose protection they came and returned. He says their object was to gain religious knowledge. For this purpose the Flathead tribe delegated one of their principal chiefs, and two of their principal men, and the Nez Perce tribe a like delegation, it being a joint delegation of both tribes. In addition to this delegation a young Nez Perce came along. When they came to Council Bluffs two of the Flatheads and one of the Nez Perces returned

home, and the other Flathead, the chief, and the Nez Perce chief, and the remaining one of the delegation, and the young Indian came to St. Louis, where they remained through the winter. At St. Louis two of them died and the only remaining one of the delegation died on his return at the mouth of the Yellowstone, so that there was no one left to return but the young man."

(There is not a word in this about their "having come in search of the white man's Bible" or anything whatever about the Bible, or about any book.)

In 1831 the Wyandotte tribe of Indians was living upon a reservation near Sandusky, in Ohio, but a proposal had been made to remove them to a larger tract in the West, and a number of the tribe were sent to explore that country before their decision should be made. Mr. William Walker, an intelligent man, of either part or full Wyandotte blood, was the interpreter of those who made this journey, and the party on their outward trip seem to have passed through St. Louis early in November, 1831, at a date after the death of the first Indian and before that of the second. After his return, Mr. Walker wrote a letter to his friend, Mr. G. P. Disoway, of Pittsburg, and that gentleman made it a part of a lengthy communication to the "Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald" (the leading publication of the M. E. Church) of March 1st, 1833. This was, so far as is known, the first publication in America of anything in reference to the Flathead-Nez Perces deputation and it made an immediate impression in religious circles. The communication has been reproduced in full in so many books that are easy of access (see Exhibit "D" in Chittenden's History of the Fur Trade for the best; also, Mowry's Marcus Whitman,) that it is unnecessary to repeat it here. Suffice to say that in no part of it or in any of the editorials based upon it at that time was there any mention of a lament by one of the Indians or of the "Book of Heaven" as a phrase. We will, however, set forth so much of William Walker's letter as relates to this deputation, calling it

The Methodist Account.

Upper Sandusky, Jan. 19th, 1833.

Dear Friend:—Your last letter, dated November 12th, came duly to hand. The business part is answered in another communication which is inclosed.

I deeply regret that I have had no opportunity of answering your very friendly letter in a manner that would be satisfactory

to myself; neither can I now, owing to a want of time and a retired place, where I can write undisturbed. * * *

I will here relate an anecdote, if I may so call it. Immediately after we landed in St. Louis, on our way to the West, I proceeded to General Clark's, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to present our letters of introduction from the Secretary of War, and to receive the same from him to the different Indian agents in the upper country. While in his office and transacting business with him, he informed me that three chiefs from the Flathead nation were in his house, and were quite sick, and that one (the fourth) had died a few days ago. They were from the west of the Rocky Mountains. (Here is given a description of their flattened heads and the manner of doing it.)

The distance they had traveled on foot was nearly three thousand miles to see General Clark, their great father, as they called him, he being the first American officer they ever became acquainted with, and having much confidence in him, they had come to consult him, as they said, upon very important matters. General Clark related to me the object of their mission, and, my dear friend, it is impossible for me to describe to you my feelings while listening to his narrative. I will here relate it briefly as I well can: It appeared that some white man had penetrated into their country, and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously perform at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshipping the Supreme Being was radically wrong, and instead of being acceptable and pleasing, it was displeasing to Him; he also informed them that the white people away toward the rising of the sun had been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the Great Spirit. They had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy His favor and hold converse with Him; and with this guide, no one need go astray; but every one that would follow the directions laid down there could enjoy, in this life, His favor, and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides, and live forever with Him.

Upon receiving this information, they called a national council to take this subject into consideration. Some said, if this be true, it is certainly high time we were put in possession of this mode, and if our mode of worshipping be wrong and displeasing to the Great Spirit it is time we had laid it aside. We must know something about this—it is a matter that cannot be put off—the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly deputed four of the chiefs to proceed to St. Louis to see their great father, General Clark, to inquire of him, having no doubt but he would tell them the whole truth about it.

They arrived at St. Louis and presented themselves to General Clark. The latter was somewhat puzzled, being sensible of the responsibility that rested on him; he, however, proceeded by informing them that what they had been told by the white man in their own country was true. Then he went into a suc-

cinct history of man, from his creation down to the advent of the Savior; explained to them all the moral precepts contained in the Bible, expounded to them the decalogue; informed them of the advent of the Savior, his life, precepts, his death, resurrection, ascension, and the relation he now stands to man as a mediator—that he will judge the world, etc.

Poor fellows, they were not all permitted to return home to their people with the intelligence. Two died in St. Louis, and the remaining two, though somewhat indisposed, set out for their native land. Whether they reached home or not is not known. The change of climate and diet operated very severely upon their health. Their diet when at home is chiefly vegetables and fish.

If they died on their way home, peace be to their names! They died inquirers after the truth. I was informed that the Flatheads, as a nation, have the fewest vices of any tribe of Indians on the continent of America.

I had just concluded I would lay this rough and uncouth scroll aside and revise it before I would send it, but if I lay it aside you will never receive it; so I will send it to you just as it is "with all its imperfections," hoping that you may be able to decipher it. You are at liberty to make what use you please of it.

Yours in haste,

G. P. Disoway, Esq. WM. WALKER.

This is the story as told in 1833, more than a year after the occurrence. But in the spring of the following year (1834), Rev. D. Lee and Rev. Jason Lee were in St. Louis and made inquiries of General Clark (they were on their way to Oregon to start the Methodist mission), and in Lee's "Ten Years in Oregon," (Lee & Frost, N. Y., 1844) pp. 110-11, we read that they ascertained that the account printed in the "Advocate" was "high wrought" and contained "incorrect statements." So there is good ground for believing that there had been much embellishment even at that early date. We know that the description of the flattened heads is largely imaginative, because nearly every traveler reported that this custom did not prevail among either the Choppunish or Salishan tribes.

Among the manuscripts in the Bancroft collection at the University of California is one written by a retired clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose father had been a resident of old St. Louis and who says he was himself ordained as an elder in that denomination at a meeting held in St. Louis about the time the Flathead-Nez Perces deputation arrived there; and it is upon the authority of that manuscript that the foregoing statement is made as to the Indians setting up their own

lodge and living in it while they stayed at St. Louis. As special permission has been obtained by the writer to make a copy of that manuscript it will be presented as a document at a later date, with verifications and comments, and not considered here. This account also refers to the Walker letter as overdrawn and incorrect.

The incident we are discussing took place in 1831-32, and the chronicles we have transcribed were written within a decade thereafter. But we now pass on to the year 1866 before we note another development of this tale. In the meantime, the Indian missions in Oregon (Methodist, Congregational-Presbyterian and Catholic) had been started with enthusiasm, maintained at much cost and sacrifice, and, in most instances, ceased to exist. Those among the Flatheads and the Nez Perces were afterward revived, and in time yielded some results; they were the most promising. During the intervening years there may have been further mention of this deputation in public address or missionary literature, but none that has attracted any attention or that has been quoted by any historical writer. But the issue of February 16th, 1866, of the Walla Walla Statesman contains No. 2 of a series of lectures written by one of the early missionaries, Rev. H. H. Spalding, entitled "Early Oregon Missions and Their Importance in Securing the Country to Americans," and here we find further elaboration.

Mr. C. B. Bagley, of Seattle, has kindly furnished the following copy from his files of the paper:

The Spalding Account.

"Mark the hand of God bringing forward His agents. In 1832 the Flathead and Nez Perces Indians, having received some ideas of God from gentlemen of the Hudson Bay Company, and having committed five of their young men to that company to be by them taken across the Rocky Mountains and committed to the school of those self-devoted excellent men, Messrs. Jones and Cochran, of the Church Missionary Society at the Selkirk Settlement of the Lakes, still felt, as they expressed it, 'very hungry for more of God's Book,' and resolved to send men to the rising sun to obtain that book, and men to teach it. They seemed to have been encouraged in this, also, by Catholic Iroquois Indians from Canada, a few of whom had arrived among them. This delegation consisted of one principal chief, one sub-chief and two warriors. They arrived at the American rendezvous on Green River in time to join the American Fur Company on their return from the Rocky Mountains to the States. They paid their passage (riding their own horses) by herding

animals, hunting, swimming rivers and otherwise making themselves useful. At St. Louis General Clark, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Western Territories, received them kindly, having met their chief in his own country twenty-six years before. Two of them died during the winter. In the spring, as the other two were about to return to their nations, the chief made his last lament to General Clark: 'I came to you, the Great Father of the white men, with but one eye partly opened. I am to return to my people beyond the mountains of snow, at the setting sun, with both eyes in darkness and both arms broken. I came for teachers and am going back without them. I came to you for the Book of God. You have not led me to it. You have taken me to your big house where multitudes of your children assemble and where your young women dance as we do not allow our women to dance, and you have taken me to many other big houses where the people bow down to each other and light torches to worship pictures. The Book of God was not there. And I am to return to my people to die in darkness.' This lament was overheard in an adjoining room by a young man of the Methodist Church, who immediately made known the fact that the Indians had come beyond the Rocky Mountains to obtain missionaries in a letter to a brother in Christ in Pittsburgh. But just as the fact was about to come before the public, it came under the eye of the great Indian traveler, George Catlin, who, providentially, was in that city at the time. He advised not to publish the statement. He did not believe it to be true, as he had traveled from the Rocky Mountains in the same caravans with those Indians; had seen them often in General Clark's office during the winter; he had never understood that they came for that purpose, but he would write to General Clark. He did so, and soon received the frank acknowledgment of General Clark: 'The sole object of those Indians when visiting the States was to obtain religious teachers.' Mr. Catlin immediately gave the facts to the editor, told him to give it to the world. I received this from Mr. Catlin's own lips, when we met him in Pittsburgh on our way to this country, in March of 1836. The lament I received from the only surviving one of the delegation after I arrived in the nation. The chief died soon after leaving St. Louis. Only one returned to the nation."

Concerning Mr. Spalding the writer is inclined to be charitable, out of consideration for the reported accident of his birth, the diseased condition of his mind (as stated by his associate, Dr. Marcus Whitman) aggravated by the shock and exposure connected with his personal escape from massacre; and there is no doubt that he was courageous and zealous in his early work among the Nez Perces and accomplished more in proportionate results than any other Protestant missionary in the Oregon country; his good wife is entitled to credit for this

also. But there is written evidence to his having been a very troublesome member of the mission band, of a violent temper and vengeful disposition, and of his actual hatred of the Catholics and the Hudson's Bay Company interests, which led to his general discredit by many of the people of Oregon and Washington during the '50s and '60s. He was practically a fanatic upon those very questions which are closely connected with our history, and his own writings furnish this evidence, as well as unprejudiced statements of those who lived as neighbors to him. His later missionary work among the Nez Perces was also unquestionably good, although during those same years some of the army officials were compelled to forbid his presence at their posts. Allowing him due credit as a pioneer and a missionary, his statements and conclusions must be in a very considerable part rejected as historical authority. And yet he is the authority used (innocently, perhaps, by some) by most of those writing from the missionary standpoint.

Spalding's Later Account.

During the fall of the year 1870 Mr. Spalding went East in the interest of missionary work and of some land claims, and, incidentally, to let the government officials know that he was on earth and willing to accept the office of Indian agent at Lapwai; for it was the plan then to take the care of the Indians away from the War Department and give it into the care of the missionary societies. In Chicago he had himself interviewed by Rev. S. J. Humphrey, an editor of the "Advance," and this interview was published on December 1st, 1870, in that denominational paper, and the following month was included as a part of a report to the Interior Department, and was published by the government as "Executive Document No. 37" of the Forty-first Congress. In this some further elaboration appears:

"The Macedonian Nez Perces.—About the council fire, in solemn conclave (it was in the year 1832), the Flatheads and Nez Perces had determined to send four of their number to 'the rising sun' for 'that Book of Heaven.' They had got word of the Bible and a Savior in some way from the Iroquois. These four dusky wise men, one of them a chief, who had thus dimly 'seen His star in the east,' made their way to St. Louis. * * * They fell into the hands of General Clark. * * * He was a Romanist, and took them to his church, and, to entertain them, to the theatre. How utterly he failed to meet their wants is revealed in the sad words with which they departed: 'I came to you' [and the survivor repeated the words years afterward to Mr. Spalding] 'with one eye partly opened; I go back with

both eyes closed and both arms broken. My people sent me to obtain that Book from Heaven. You took me where your women dance as we do not allow ours to dance; and the Book was not there. You took me where I saw men worship God with candles; and the Book was not there. I am now to return without it, and my people will die in darkness.' And so they took their leave. But this sad lament was overheard. A young man wrote it to his friends in Pittsburg."

Executive Document No. 37 is now quite easily to be had and the reader can see the whole of the interview there.

The Barrows Account.

During his visit in the East, and afterward, Mr. Spalding undoubtedly found this Indian lament very taking, and we next find it again amplified and used by Rev. William Barrows in his series of articles contributed to the New York Observer and afterward compiled into his "Oregon," (H. M. & Co., 1883) chapter XIII. of which gives a more detailed version of this Flathead deputation and the lament as follows:

"I came to you over the trail of many moons from the setting sun. You were the friend of my fathers, who have all gone the long way. I came with one eye partly opened, for more light for my people, who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people? I made my way to you with strong arms, through many enemies and strange lands, that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. The two fathers who came with me—the braves of many winters and wars—we leave asleep here by your great water. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out. My people sent me to get the white man's Book from Heaven. You took me where you allow your women to dance as we do not ours, and the Book was not there. You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with candles, and the Book was not there. You showed me the images of good spirits and pictures of the Good Land beyond, but the Book was not among them. I am going back the long, sad trail to my people in the dark land. You make my feet heavy with burdens of gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them. When I tell my poor, blind people, after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go on the long path to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book to make the way plain. I have no more words."

Mr. Barrows boldly includes this within quotation marks, but gives no clue as to where he found it. There is no positive

proof, but scarcely a doubt, that he took it from one of the missionary addresses delivered by Mr. Spalding while on that trip. Barrows' "Oregon" can hardly be called a history, but it was published for many years in the "Commonwealth Series" and considered as such; it has now been displaced.

The Mowry Account.

After the publication of his "Oregon," the tale and the form of the lament as given by Barrows appear in various writings, especially eulogies of Dr. Whitman, (by Nixon, Eells, Mrs. Dye and others) but we pass on to what is considered in religious circles an authoritative book upon its subject, namely, "Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon," by W. A. Mowry, Ph. D. (S. B. & C., 1901.) The preface to this book states that it is the result of over twenty years of careful investigation of everything the author could lay his hands upon relating to the subject; that the "book is a history, not an embellished story; written with the single purpose of stating in a clear and concise manner the important facts with which it has to deal. From first to last it has to do with facts." Read now his chapter on "Early Missions," pp. 35-49, and see with what regard for the contemporary accounts and devotion to the truth this Indian deputation incident has been treated. Principal Marshall says ("Acquisition of Oregon," p. 27):

"But not till Mowry's 'Marcus Whitman' appeared did any author venture to assert that it had been 'circulated' before the Statesman and Advance articles in 1866 and 1870, or that anyone ever claimed to have reduced it to writing prior to that time, but Mowry says (p. 46): 'One of the clerks in General Clark's office took down, at the moment, the speech of the Indian as it was interpreted to General Clark, and it began to be circulated.' For this he offers no authority, and, undoubtedly no authority can be produced for it save Dr. Mowry's desire to have it so If it began to be 'circulated' in the early spring of 1832, pray how did it happen that with all the excitement and discussion there was about this matter, in no letter, or diary, or book, or magazine, or newspaper article has so much as one sentence of this speech been found till 34 years afterwards, when parts of it appeared in the Chicago Advance, in an 'interview' with Rev. H. H. Spalding? It may be stated further that Mr. Mowry has been privately asked to designate some early publication of this lament and has been unable to do so. With one statement of the preface the chapter seems in full accord, namely: 'This book was like 'Topsey'—'it was not born, it grew.'"

But the end is not yet. At a public meeting held on the evening of November 29th, 1907, at Walla Walla in celebration

of the sixty-first anniversary of the Whitman Massacre (at which the patriotic claim for the mission was made especially emphatic) the "historical address" of the program was written and delivered by Mr. Edwin Eells, a son of the early missionary, Cushing Eells, and a brother of the late Myron Eells, who was a voluminous writer upon pioneer missionary history and considered in some circles as a reliable authority upon general Pacific Northwest history as well. This romantic address is printed in full in Vol. 2, No. 2 of the Washington Historical Quarterly, and this Indian lament, as given by Barrows and by W. A. Mowry, serves as an impressive opening paragraph, rendered doubly so by the dramatic statement immediately following it: "These were the words that saved Old Oregon and the Pacific Northwest to the government of the United States." From Mr. Eells, also, we learn that the lament was at once published in the East "with ringing editorials." When asked to cite an authority he was of course unable to do so.

It has become evident, then, that good and benevolent men, and some even with a reputation as historians, have imagined things, and among others these: That General Clark was a Romanist; that he was well versed in homeletics and could explain a whole system of theology to Indians by means of signs and interpreters, but too bigoted to assist them to get a copy of the Bible or teachers; that the Indians could not get a Bible or spiritual teachers anywhere in that city of six thousand or more people and at least four Protestant churches engaged in active work; that the older Indian, the chief, who had seen General Clark twenty-five years before, then delivered a pathetic lament which MUST have been immediately printed and circulated because the younger Indian, the only one who reached his tribe again, repeated the words of it to the missionary Spalding some eight or ten years afterward when Spalding had become able to understand their dialect, and Spalding remembered it and set it down in writing nearly thirty years afterward; that in consequence the missionary movement was at once set in motion toward the Oregon country (would not have been started at all perhaps without it), and Oregon saved to the United States.

In the historical garden of the Pacific Northwest, in the course of years, these rootless flowers will die out and there will yet remain strength and beauty in abundance.

C. T. JOHNSON.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: A STUDY OF THE ATTEMPT TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES BY THE APPLICATION OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY—1850-1860.

Introduction.

The period in which Stephen A. Douglas took the most active part in shaping Congressional legislation was a period of territorial expansion. During this time Texas was admitted to the Union, the Mexican cession acquired, and the northern boundary of the Oregon Territory determined. The sectional question of slavery was closely connected with each of these territorial additions, but it was in connection with the Mexican cession that it became most prominent. This paper will be confined to a discussion of Douglas' activity in dealing with the problems growing out of these annexations of territory, and the application of popular sovereignty in the organization of the Territory of Nebraska. The narrative will trace events to the election of 1860 with a view to showing the results of Douglas' policy.

The movement toward the West was not a new one. It began with the settlement of the colonists along the Atlantic seaboard; and the American interest in the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico, together with our diplomatic activities as a "world power," remind us that it still lives. In the middle of the eighteenth century began the movement of Western expansion into the upper waters of the tributaries of the Atlantic, and, in the revolutionary days, the Alleghany Mountains were crossed by the "men of the Western waters." Struggles with the Tidewater Aristocrats in attempts to wrest political control from them began even before the Alleghanies were crossed. Bacon's rebellion was at bottom a struggle between the frontier settlers and the large landholders of the older settled region, and the War of Regulation, in the Carolinas, and Shays' Rebellion, in Massachusetts, were fundamentally similar sectional struggles. Each successive wave of population moving westward brought its peculiar struggle with the older settled area, and resulted, generally, in a broader democracy.[1] In the period to which we invite

[1]Turner, Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 78, p. 289; Vol. 91, p. 83.

attention the movement toward the west bears all the characteristics of these earlier westward movements, though in the later years of the movement it became entangled with the question of slavery.

Previous to 1830 this westward movement was almost entirely Anglo-American. Immigrants arriving in American ports down to this time were comparatively few.[1] In the two following decades the social and political ferment which had been acting in Europe for half a century, and which culminated in unsuccessful attempts at revolution, led to a very large emigration to the United States and reinforced the natural American tendency to move westward. Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island, and the Anti-Rent agitations and disturbances in New York from 1839 to 1847, were expressions in this country of similar democratic movements and serve to explain in part this new westward movement.[2]

With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the profitable production of the short-staple variety of cotton was made possible on the uplands of the South Atlantic States, and as cotton planting and slave holding advanced into the interior counties the free farmers were obliged to change to the plantation economy and buy slaves or move out, and numbers of them passed into Kentucky and Tennessee.[3] Many of these were of the Scotch-Irish and German stocks that in the first half of the eighteenth century passed down from Pennsylvania into the uplands of the South. At a still later period this Southern stock, including that from Tennessee and Kentucky, made up a large share of the settlers in the States bordering on the Ohio.[1] Side by side with this movement was the onward march of the planters, who took possession of the Gulf plain into which cotton culture and slavery spread. By 1834 Alabama, which had practically no cotton crop in 1811, raised a larger crop than either South Carolina or Georgia.[2] In the decade between 1830 and 1840, the New England States showed small gains in population, as did Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. But Georgia advanced in population from 516,823 to 691,392, Alabama from 309,527 to 590,756, Mississippi from 136,621 to 375,651, and Louisiana from 215,739 to 352,411. The new Northwestern States increased their popu-

[1]U. S. Industrial Commission Reports, XV., p. 267 (1901).
[2]Garrison, Westward Extension, Chap. I.
[3]Turner, Rise of the New West, Chap. IV.
[1]Turner, New West, Chap. V.
[2]Turner, New West, Chap. VI., and table, p. 47.

lation by leaps and bounds; Indiana in the decade of the thirties, from 343,031 to 685,866; Illinois, from 157,445 to 476,183, and Ohio, from 937,903 to 1,519,467.[3]

Notwithstanding the fact that the Western movement of population was in general along the lines of longitude, the West, as a whole, had a strongly nationalistic tone down to about 1830. The new section lying in the Mississippi Valley, which was becoming a dominant force in the councils of the Nation, acted as a tie binding the older sections in a more compact Union.[4] But soon after 1830 the northern and southern portions of the Mississippi Valley began to show signs of marked differences. From New York and New England, in the thirties, a tide of settlement, making its way along the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, poured into the Northwestern States and made the region an extension of the Greater New England already to be seen in New York. In the Gulf Plains the plantation system was pushing out the small farmers, cotton was becoming the most important crop, and a Greater South was in process of formation. These differences gradually became accentuated until the States of the Mississippi Valley became divided into two great groups separated by fundamental economic considerations.

The North readily saw the advantage which the control of the Federal machinery gave in supporting its policy and promoting its interests, while the South in turn fell back on the defensive theory of States' rights. The main factor in the economic divergence of the two sections had come to be slavery, because cotton culture had come to be the dominant occupation of the South, and slavery was believed to be essential to the plantation system of economy.[5] That the movement which resulted in adding Texas to the territory of the United States was due primarily to the Anglo-American demand for more land, rather than to a conspiracy in the interests of slavery, has been conclusively shown.[6]

Re-annexation of Texas and Re-occupation of Oregon.

The impulse to Southwestern expansion, though in the beginning not primarily connected with the question of slavery, was greatly weakened in the North by the "growing realization that territorial expansion and the extension of slavery were so inextricably involved with each other that every accession of territory

[3]Twelfth United States Census, 1900.
[4]Turner, New West, pp. 67-74.
[5]Garrison, Westward Extension, Chap. I.
[6]Ibid, Chaps. II. and VI.; Garrison, Texas (Commonwealth Series).

would precipitate a slavery crisis."[1] Douglas stood squarely for "the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas." He undertook to prove to the doughty champion of New England, John Quincy Adams, that the Rio Grande was the southwesterly boundary of Texas; he defended the war with Mexico, and endorsed Polk's statement that American blood had been shed on American soil.[2] When the Wilmot Proviso came up in connection with Texas, Douglas repeatedly voted against it, and moved as a substitute the extension of the compromise line of 36° 30′ and a provision for the return of fugitive slaves. If the slavery question must be settled then, he favored the compromise line of 36° 30′, but he preferred to leave the question until the States applied for admission, when they could settle the question for themselves by means of their respective constitutions. Thus early (March 3, 1847,) did he foreshadow the doctrine with which his name is so closely identified.[3] He held that we needed Texas to protect our commerce on the Gulf and prevent England from getting a foothold there. We needed Oregon to protect our fisheries and our trade with China. He favored establishing a railroad to Oregon, and said he would later bring in a bill authorizing a survey of the route. He advocated the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Oregon, without attempting to define the boundaries of Oregon, and as our settlements were agricultural, and the British settlers were fur traders, we would have driven them out without the use of force.[4] He was pledged, he said, to move a declaration of war if England tried to take Oregon, Cuba or Texas, as he believed she intended, and, in conclusion, he gave vent to his "Young Americanism" by declaring that if war came, he would administer Hannibal's oath of eternal enmity and not stop till he had blotted out the national lines on the map and made the area of liberty as broad as the boundaries of the continent itself.[1] On May 13, 1846, he declared, "I am as ready and willing to fight for 54° 40′ as for the Rio Del Norte."[2]

In dealing with the question of slavery in Oregon, Douglas held that slavery should be prohibted, "inasmuch as the whole of the said territory lies north of 36° 30′ north latitude, known as the line of the Missouri Compromise." This line he accepted as

[1]Bourne, Am. Hist., Rev. V., p. 502.

[2]Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 1st ses., pp. 816-7.

[3]Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 2d ses., pp. 425, 440.

[4]Cutts. A Brief Treatise upon Constitutional and Party Questions, as received orally from the late Stephen A. Douglas, p. 64.

[1]Cong. Globe, 28th Cong., 2d ses., p. 226.

[2]Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 1st ses., p. 817.

the basis of all settlements of the slavery question, down to the compromise of 1850. He never favored the Wilmot Proviso and voted against it on all occasions, and he voted for the Missouri Compromise Line every time an opportunity offered itself, except when instructed otherwise by the Illinois Legislature.[3]

When the bill for the organization of the Territory of Oregon finally passed, August 13, 1848, it excluded slavery by the application of the "conditions, restrictions and prohibitions" of the Northwest ordinance to the Oregon Territory. The people of the Territory had already forbid slavery there, and all attempts to extend the compromise line (36° 30′) having failed, Douglas voted for the bill as passed.[4]

The Compromise of 1850.

To the most pressing question of the day—that of slavery in the newly acquired Mexican territories—the election of 1848 gave no answer. The Democratic convention which nominated Lewis Cass declared the war with Mexico to be "a just and necessary war," and denied the power of Congress to interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, and condemned all efforts to have that body deal with the question of slavery at all. A minority of the platform committee, led by William L. Yancey, offered a resolution favoring "non-intervention with the rights of property of any portion of the people in this confederation, be it in the States or in the Territories, by any other than the parties interested in them," but it was voted down 36 to 216, all the favorable votes coming from the South. The general desire to suppress all agitation of the slavery question appeared in the prompt calls to order whenever attempts were made to discuss the Wilmot Proviso. The Whig convention nominated General Taylor without making any declaration of principles whatsoever.[1]

When Congress assembled in December, 1848, President Polk strongly urged the necessity of providing territorial governments for New Mexico and California. He favored the extension of the Missouri Compromise Line to the Pacific, but Congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1849, without having made any provision for the government of the new territory. In the meantime gold

[3]Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 2d ses., pp. 166, 187; Ibid., 30th Cong., 1st ses., pp. 136, 1043, 1061, 1078; 32d Cong., 1st ses., p. 67 (Appendix).

[4]Cong. Globe, 30th Cong., 1st ses., pp. 1061, 1078-1080; Hines, 425-31; Gray, 346, 359.

[1]Garrison, Westward Extension, pp. 268-280; Stanwood, Presidential Elections, pp. 167-171.

had been discovered (Jan. 24, 1848,) in the foothills of the Sierras. Thousands swarmed to the New Eldorado overland, by way of the Isthmus of Panama and "around the Horn." By the close of 1849, it was estimated that 81,000 Argonauts had arrived in California in search of the golden fleece.[1] Before Congress met again, in December, 1849, a California convention had drawn up a constitution forever prohibiting slavery in the State, and it had been adopted by a vote of the people.[2]

Late in January, 1850, Henry Clay introduced his famous plan of compromise in a series of resolutions comprehending the questions in dispute. Bills covering most of these questions had already been introduced and referred.[3] On March 25, Douglas, from the committee on territories, reported bills for the admission of the State of California and for establishing the territorial governments of Utah and New Mexico.[4] On the 18th of April, it was voted to refer Clay's resolutions and the whole matter of compromise to a select committee of thirteen, of which Clay was the chairman.[5] On the 8th of May, Clay reported a number of measures, which have since been known as the "Omnibus Bill."[6] There was considerable difference of opinion as to whether it was possible to pass all the measures in a single bill. Those in favor of passing one bill at a time gave way to Clay, but it was soon seen that the "Omnibus Bill" could not be passed, and each bill was finally passed separately.[7] Clay's bill, so far as the new Territory was concerned, consisted of two printed bills reported by Douglas from the Committee on Territories with a single modification. The original Douglas bill "provided that the power of the Territorial Legislature should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the constitution, without excepting African slavery."[1] Clay's bill provided that no law should be passed "in respect to African slavery," but this clause was later rejected, largely through the influence of Douglas.[2] Previous to our acquisition of the Mexican territory slavery had been forbidden therein by the Mexican government, but when this terri-

[1]Rhodes, I., pp. 110-113.
[2]Rhodes, I., pp. 115-16.
[3]Sheahan, Douglas, pp. 127-8.
[4]Sheahan, Douglas, p. 130; Cutts, p. 79.
[5]Rhodes, I., pp. 171-3.
[6]Rhodes, I., p. 172.
[7]Rhodes, I., pp. 181-5, for details of the votes.
For a map showing a test vote on the Compromise of 1850, see Garrison, Westward Extension, p. 238.
[1]Cutts, pp. 79-80.
[2]Sheahan, Douglas, pp. 132-37; Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., pp. 944, 1018, 1118, 1134, 1830.

tory came under our constitution two theories arose as to the status of slavery. Calhoun claimed Congress had no right or power to "deprive the citizens of any of the States of this Union from emigrating with their property into any of the territory of the United States."[3] The other side claimed that all Mexican laws not in conflict with the constitution remained in force, and slavery could not therefore exist except by act of Congress. Douglas strongly maintained that the territory of the Mexican Cession was free territory. He said: "The country is now free by law and in fact * * * and must forever remain free. It will be free under any bill you may pass or without any bill at all." Appealing to the Southerners in their determination, he uttered this bit of philosophy: "It requires but little moral courage to act firmly and resolutely in support of previously expressed opinions * * * but when a man is called upon to review his former opinions, to confess and abandon his errors, to sacrifice his pride to his conscience, it requires the exercise of the highest qualities of our natures—the exertion of a moral courage which elevates a man almost above humanity itself."[4]

When Jefferson Davis sought to amend that part of the compromise bill which dealt with the territories by an amendment safeguarding "those right of property growing out of the institution of African slavery," Douglas replied that the amendment attempted to continue slavery on the assumption that it is there already. This assumption, he held, was contrary to the fact, and he was not willing to extend slavery to the territory by act of Congress. Davis charged him with being unwilling to protect property in California. "But, sir," Douglas answered, "I do not hold the doctrine that to exclude any species of property by law from any territory is a violation of any property right to property." Continuing, he cited the facts that banks, whiskey and gambling tables had been excluded rightfully from several States and Territories by statute, and to allow the people to forbid slavery involved the same principle of self-government.[5] To deny this right to legislate on the question of slavery, he argued, would be contrary to the arguments used by the Democrats in the campaign of 1848; it would be contrary to the Nicholson letter; besides, to take the question out of the hands of the people would not settle it. But suppose it could be settled by Congress, "is an institution to be fixed upon a people in opposition to their unani-

[3]Garrison's Westward Extension, pp. 294-7.
[4]Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 373 (Appendix).
[5]Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., pp. 1115-6.

mous opinion? Or are the people by our action here to be deprived of a law which they unanimously desire, and yet have no power to remedy the evil?"[2]

In a previous argument, he declared that the ordinance of 1787 did not actually prohibit slavery in the Northwest Territory. Slavery existed there till it was abolished by the people themselves. In Oregon, he said, slavery did not exist because it was prohibited by the "deliberate and exclusive act of the people," acting "in obedience to that great democratic principle that it is wiser and better to leave each community to determine and regulate its own local and domestic affairs in its own way."[3]

He met the sectional argument that the South was being deprived of its rights in the territory by declaring that the South as a geographical section had no rights. As a part of the Union it had a voice in the disposition of the territory for the common benefit of all, but no more than that. "It is no violation of Southern rights to prohibit slavery, nor of Northern rights to leave the people to decide for themselves."[1] As the debate dragged on through June, he took occasion to again state his idea of the solution of the question of slavery. "I have always held that the people have a right to settle these questions as they choose, not only when they come into the Union as a State, but they should be permitted to do so as a Territory."[2]

Jefferson Davis inquired what number of people there must be in a territory before the right to govern themselves accrued. Douglas replied that he would make no attempt to state the exact number. If there is enough to make a government necessary at all, that government should have the same right to legislate upon slavery as upon any other subject, like the relations of master and servant, parent and child, and commercial laws effecting the rights of property and citizens.[3]

Criticising the opposition to the admission of California, and in direct answer to Soule, Douglas said: "You must, therefore, depart from the established usages, abandon the precedents, and overturn the authorities, before you can exclude California from the Union. What has she done to justify this treatment? Sir, I fear the world will come to the conclusion that her sin—her only crime—was that she chose, in the plentitude of her wisdom

[2]Ibid, p. 1114.
[3]Ibid, p. 371.
[1]Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 369.
[2]Ibid, p. 911, Appendix.
[3]Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 1115.

and power to exclude the institution of slavery from her borders."[4]

Douglas did not vote for the Fugitive Slave Act, though he was heartily in sympathy with it, as carrying out the plain mandate of the constitution. In explaining why he did not vote for the bill, he said: "Whatever political sins I may have at any time committed, I think I may safely assert that no Senator ever doubted my willingness to assume the full measure of responsibility resulting from my official position. The dodging of votes—the attempt to avoid responsibility—is no part of my system of political tactics."[1] "The arguments against the Fugitive Slave law, when closely examined," he declared, "are arguments against the constitution of our country and not against the provision of the law which has been passed for the purpose of carrying the constitution into effect." He charged Sumner with taking an oath to support the constitution, while at the same time firmly resolving not to support part of it. What would these gentlemen care for the form of proceedings and provisions of the law, provided the fugitive was not returned to his master? The real objection is that the fugitive is sent back, not that the form of the law does not suit them."[2] With practical unanimity the standard historians dealing with this period picture Douglas as a subservient tool of the slavocracy, a political trimmer in the service of the South. That he made mistakes he himself did not deny, but when he looked into the future he read the failure of Calhoun's proposition looking to the maintenance of an equilibrium between the sections, North and South, and declared any such proposition to be impossible. As Douglas figured out the question of expansion into the territories, four States would, in time, be made out of Oregon Territory, five out of the Mexican Cession, two out of Minnesota Territory, and six out of the Territory on the Missouri. Each of these, he predicted, would be a free State whether Congress prohibited slavery or not. Should Texas be cut into five states, he predicted three would be free, and if all Mexico were to be annexed twenty of the resulting states would be free, and but three slave.

These predictions, he held, might be unpalatable to the South, but he considered them undeniable. We all look forward, he adds, to the time when Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and probably North Carolina and Tennessee will grad-

[4]Ibid, p. 852.
[1]Cong. Globe, 32d Cong., 1st ses., p. 65.
[2]Ibid, p. 1120 (Appendix).

ually emancipate their slaves. He was opposed to Calhoun's proposition because it would revolutionize the fundamental principle of government, and would destroy popular equality. How much more completely could Calhoun have been answered? Some of the results came in a way never anticipated by Douglas, but, as early as 1850, he saw little comfort for the South in the westward movement of which he was the greatest exponent.[1]

Jefferson Davis was opposed to all the measures embraced in the compromise except the Fugitive Slave Act. He declared he wanted none of the credit for having passed them, if there was any credit in so doing. "If any man has a right to be proud of the success of these measures, it is the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas). They were brought before the Senate by the Committee on Territories and the Committee of Thirteen, which it is claimed has done so much for the honor of the Senate and the peace of the country, merely stuck together the work of other men, save and except the little bill to suppress the slave trade in the District of Columbia."[2]

The Compromise As a Finality.

The passage of the compromise of 1850 marks the end of the first stage in the slavery controversy in the United States. The majority in the Northern States, which at one time were willing to accept the line 36° 30′ as the dividing line between free and slave States were no longer satisfied with that line, and demanded the application of the Wilmot Proviso to all the new territory.[1] The majority in the Southern States, on the other hand, while demanding equal rights to enter all the new territory with their slaves, were willing to accept an extension of the Missouri Compromise Line.

California's action in organizing as a State, with boundaries extending north and south of that line, and a constitution declaring against slavery, complicated the situation. A settlement was then worked out by allowing the people of the States and Territories to settle the question for themselves, and the alarming possibility of Southern secession was temporarily suspended. Every part of the public territory had received some sort of regulation regarding slavery except the Indian reservation. The final

[1]Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 371.
[2]Ibid, p. 1830.
[1]Schurz, Clay, II., p. 322.
Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 225.

outcome in Utah and New Mexico was, of course, a question of the future, but the means of settlement had been provided.

Three possible sources of friction lay on the horizon: Southern attempts at tropical annexations, Northern opposition to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act, and the opening of the territory between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. This latter, it is true, had been provided for by the Missouri compromise, but the South was able to keep it closed to settlers because it was occupied by Indians, and action of the Senate was required to remove the Indians and make settlement possible there. "It remained to be seen whether the country would acquiesce and let the old parties resume their customary electoral contests, and concern themselves with the problems of internal government with which their earlier days had been taken up—such as the currency, the tariff, the public lands."[1] In the North opposition to the compromise was concentrated against the Fugitive Slave Act, but Cass, Dickinson, Douglas, Choate and Webster labored hard for submission to the law, and gradually a reluctant acquiescence was obtained. "It is a disgraceful and dirty business," said the Ohio State Journal, "but it is sanctioned by the constitution." The Southern upholders of the compromise, Clay, Crittenden, Stephens, Cobb and Foote, had a more difficult task in persuading the Southern people that nothing had been lost in California and that the North would live up to the Fugitive Slave law.[2]

The Northern people were not yet enough concerned about slavery to risk driving the South into disunion, and the South, though distrusting the North so far as carrying out the Fugitive Slave law was concerned, was willing to watch and await the outcome. Accordingly, an artificial calm reigned.[3] Both political parties in 1852 declared the compromise final in the settlement of the slavery question; and the election, which turned largely on the personality of the candidates, was uneventful.[4] "Except incidentally, and in relation to foreign affairs, the word slavery was hardly spoken in the session of Congress between December, 1852, and March, 1853. * * * But the fires of abolition and of secession were apparently as ceaseless as Aetna's. The Northern radicals were not discouraged, although popular senti-

[1]Smith, Parties and Slavery, Chap. I.

[2]Phillips, Georgia and State Rights, p. 163. (American Hist. Assoc. Report, 1901, Vol. II.)

[3]Smith, Parties and Slavery, Chap. II.

[4]Stanwood, History of the Presidency, pp. 249, 251.

ment was so hostile that they kept their assistance to fleeing slaves as secret as possible."[5]

Beneath the peaceful surface the irrespressible conflict was going on. "Was there not peace already here?" asked Seward, in discussing the Kansas-Nebraska bill. "Was there not harmony as perfect as is ever possible in the country, when this measure was moved in the Senate a month ago?"[1] On the surface, yes; but beneath the surface was working the same mighty restlessness that gave birth to every westward movement. Following the famine in Ireland and the revolutions on the Continent, immigration to America was very large. From 1845 to 1850 the average annual influx was about 300,000 persons. Large numbers of Germans were pouring into the country north of the Ohio River and into the upper Mississippi Valley. During the decade 1850 to 1860, the figures of the previous decade were exceeded by over 800,000, reaching the highest mark in the history of the country before the decade 1880 to 1890. In the latter part of the period the flow was somewhat checked by the panic of 1857 and the Civil War. Relatively few of these foreigners pushed to the extreme frontier, but as they settled in the older regions of the West and bought land, they pushed westward large numbers of native Americans, who were ever ready to move on to the new frontier. Texas formed a southern outlet for these people, Oregon formed a northern, and California drew from both sections.

The Argonauts moving to California and returning across the plains came to know Nebraska Territory, and demanded that it be opened for settlement. In addition, the possession of California and Oregon on the Pacific Coast called for better means of communication, and railroads, telegraph lines and wagon roads were projected. So important had the railroad movement become that conventions were called in various parts of the country, and three separate localities went into the struggle in earnest to become the eastern terminus of the Pacific Railway.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Petitions were sent from the people of Iowa and Missouri, as early as 1851, praying for the organization of Nebraska Territory.[1] Representative Henn, of Iowa, informed Congress that "in the summer of 1853, not less than 3,000 souls had assembled on

[5]Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 333.

[1]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 155 (Appendix); Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 349.

[1]Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., II., p. 95.

the frontier of Iowa, ready to make their future home upon the soil of Nebraska, and later information led him to believe that 10,000 people will cross the river and become permanent settlers in Nebraska before the summer solstice" if the Territory is opened.[2] Senator Atchison, who until March, 1853, had been opposed to the opening of Nebraska because of his opposition to the Missouri Compromise Provision governing that Territory, said in Congress: "We know that it must come, and that in a very few years. The pressure of population from the older States, and from Europe, has been such that they roll up against the frontier, and the most populous counties in the State of Missouri are upon the western boundary line of that State. * * * The tide of immigration rolls on until it is stopped by the intercourse law. Such has been the case in our State for the last ten years, and I know the tide of immigration has been rolling back upon the interior of the State; now, sir, I know very well that in a very few years, if it is not doing so now, the tide of population, in defence of this government, will pass the frontier and take possession of every habitable spot in Nebraska Territory. You cannot keep them out. There is a large portion of our population who are now ready and anxious to abandon their homes and go into this Territory. You cannot restrain them much longer."[3] Ex-Senator Benton went so far as to advise 15,000 or 20,000 who had assembled on the western border of Missouri to invade the Territory and take possession; but the President dispatched the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Fort Leavenworth with orders to use the army if necessary to restrain them.[4]

The Missouri Democrats were at this time divided into two hostile factions, both in favor of opening Nebraska to settlement, but divided over the necessity of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The moderate faction was led by ex-Senator Benton, W. P. Hall, Frank B. Blair, Jr., and the St. Louis Republican, and favored the protection of the rights of slavery under existing laws, but was opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise restriction. The radical pro-slavery faction was led by W. C. Price, Senator Atchison and Sterling Price, and was in favor of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Its leaders were the leaders of border ruffianism. Atchison, on March 3, 1853, said he saw no hope of a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and urged the opening of the Territory. If he thought there was any

[2]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 885 (Appendix).
[3]Ibid, p. 1113.
[4]Cutts, pp. 90-91.

possibility of repealing the Missouri Compromise he declared he would insist upon it as a preliminary.[1] In December, 1852, Abelard Guthrie, the recently elected delegate to Congress, found both the Missouri Senators opposed to territorial organization unless the Missouri Compromise could be repealed.[2] On December 9, 1852, Mr. Guthrie wrote from Washington: "Mr. Hall's bill (not then introduced) says nothing about slavery, but leaves untouched the Missouri Compromise. The Territory, it is pretty confidentially believed, will be free."[3] As early as the session of 1843-44 Douglas had introduced a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska. It was part of his plan in opening a highway to Oregon in order that we might acquire all of Oregon as far north as 54° 40′.[4] During each subsequent session down to 1854, he renewed the introduction of his bill, and "no one had objected to it upon the ground that there was no necessity for the organization of the Territory."[5] There was objection, however, to the creation of any more free States lest the balance in the Senate between the two sections be destroyed and the interests of the South endangered.

Nebraska was, in 1851, Indian territory from which white settlers were excluded under threat of heavy fines and imprisonment. William Walker, one of the Wyandotte chiefs, stated that the Indians, especially the Wyandottes, "warmly favored the occupation by white people of the vacant lands, and the ultimate organization of the Territory," and with this end in view, "a few daring and resolute spirits in the Wyandotte nation determined to make a demonstration in favor of its organization by concerting measures for holding an election for a delegate to Congress."[1]

On the 12th day of October, 1852, a meeting was held at the council house of the Wyandotte nation and Abelard Guthrie was unanimously chosen as Territorial delegate to Congress. The Territory of Nebraska had not been officially organized, and, of course, Guthrie could have no legal standing as a Territorial delegate, but he could urge the organization of the Territory upon Congress. About the same time a similar gathering at Fort Leavenworth nominated a Mr. Banow as Territorial delegate.

[1]Cong. Globe, 32d Cong., 2d ses., p. 1113.
[2]Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub. (2d Series), 177, 28-30, 76.
[3]Ibid, p. 78.
[4]Cutts, p. 64.
[5]Cutts, p. 87.
[1]Neb. Hist. Soc. Pub., III., 2d Series, pp. 58, 60; Walker's MS., edited by Connelly.

Mr. Banow may possibly have been the representative of the Price-Atchison faction, but I have found no positive evidence of this. An election was called and Guthrie was elected by a vote of 54 to 16.[2] The Journal of the House of Representatives for December 17, 1852, shows that Abelard Guthrie presented a petition for a seat in the House as a delegate from the Territory of Nebraska. The petition was referred to the Committee on Elections, but apparently no action was taken on it by the committee. The matter came up again two years later, when Guthrie presented another petition, asking for pay for his attendance at the earlier session.[3]

The next year a movement was on foot to erect a provisional Territorial government, and a convention was called for this purpose to meet August 9, 1853. Another meeting for an entirely different purpose had also been called. Those Missourians interested in the selection of the Kansas River Valley as the route for the proposed Pacific Railway had planned a meeting to be held in that part of Nebraska Territory west of Missouri on July 26, 1853.

The Benton faction in Missouri now planned to take the enemy unawares and select the provisional Territorial officers at this earlier meeting. Guthrie was renominated as delegate to Congress, and William Walker elected as provisional governor of the Territory.[1] Resolutions written in part by Dyer, Governor Walker, Guthrie and others, before the meeting, endorsed the great central railroad route as it had been outlined in Benton's bill; expressed their deep obligations to Benton and Hall, of Missouri; regretted the failure of Congress to pass the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and urged its passage at the next session of Congress.[2] Later, the Price-Atchison faction nominated Rev. Thomas Johnson in opposition to Guthrie, though no opposition was made to Walker (a Wyandotte chief) as provisional governor. Governor Walker issued a call for an election, which was held on the second Tuesday of October, and resulted in Rev. Thomas Johnson's election over Guthrie, though Guthrie carried the Wyandotte precinct. Senator Atchison and the Indian agent, and the Methodist Church following, worked hard for the Rev. Johnson. Governor Walker's proclamation calling for an election in October was printed in the Missouri papers and a copy fell into the hands

[2]Ibid, III., 2d Series, 26-28.
[3]Ibid, III., 2d Series, 70, 71.
[1]Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub. (2d Series), III., pp. 30-37.
[2]Ibid, pp. 30-37, 45-6, 88. Resolutions in Kansas Hist. Collections, VI., 107.

of H. D. Johnson, a member of the Iowa Legislature, who immediately sent word to Council Bluffs, Iowa. After consultation, the Iowans concluded to have a hand in the election for Territorial delegate, and arranged to have a ferry boat carry them over to the Nebraska shore near Sarpy's trading house, where, on the day specified in the governor's proclamation, they cast 358 votes for H. D. Johnson as delegate to Congress.

The returns for this election were turned in to the provisional government along with those for Rev. Thomas Johnson and Abelard Guthrie, but the returning board threw them out because H. D. Johnson and many who voted for him were residents of Iowa.[3]

Meetings ratifying the election of H. D. Johnson were held in several Iowa towns, and H. D. Johnson went to Washington (January, 1854,) where he found Rev. Thomas Johnson knocking for admission to the House of Representatives. Neither was admitted as delegate, and Nebraska, therefore, had two unofficial representatives in the gallery of the House.[1]

The objection to organizing Nebraska as a Territory came naturally from the South. Nebraska was north of the compromise line of 36° 30′, and in the struggle following the Missouri Compromise the South consistently tried to prevent the admission of free States unless she had ready a slave State to keep the balance in the Senate. No man understood this opposition better than Douglas. When he made an attempt to protect the emigrants passing through Nebraska to California and Oregon, the Senators from Georgia and South Carolina were foremost in opposition. Their objections, said he, "show us that we are to expect no protection at all; they evince direct, open hostility to that section of the country."[1] On another occasion the Senators from Texas were objecting, and Douglas said: "All other descriptions of bills—private bills and public bills—have been taken up by unanimous consent and by courtesy; but the moment a territorial bill is indicated, objection is made. Not only to considering it on that day, but on any future day. It seemed as if there were a design that this bill should never be considered—should never be entertained."[2] Pike and Guthrie found the center of opposition to the organization of Nebraska in the same section.[3]

[3]Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., II., pp. 85-6, and III., p. 37 (2d Series).
[1]Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., II., p. 88.
[1]Cong. Globe, 32d Cong., 1st ses., p. 1762.
[2]Ibid, p. 1684.
[3]Pike, First Blows, p. 183. Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., III., p. 82 (2d Series).

Reference has already been made to the attempts Douglas made in every Congress of which he was a member to organize Nebraska Territory.[4] In the session which ended in March, 1853, a bill for this purpose had passed the House, but Douglas was not able to have it considered in the Senate. That there was a strong demand for the opening of Nebraska Territory has been shown, and it is probable that in time Douglas would have won over a majority of the Senate, but a mere majority would not improve the situation, because Nebraska "had forever been excluded from settlement by treaties with the Indians, which could not be changed or repealed except by a two-thirds vote of the senate."[1]

Senator Bell saw this objection and alluded to it on the last night of the debate, March 4, 1854, but Douglas had committed the South to the measure before this feature was mentioned.[2] When Congress met again in December, 1853, the bill which had passed the house during the previous session was introduced in the Senate and referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Douglas was chairman. On the fourth day of January following, the committee returned a substitute for the bill and accompanied it with a report in which Douglas argued for the application of the principles established by the compromise measure of 1850.[2] The important changes made in the original bill were incorporated in the fourteenth section, which provided "that the constitution and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within said Territory as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union * * * which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories * * * is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States."[3]

The report affirmed that these principles "were intended to have a far more comprehensive and enduring effect that the mere

[4]Nicolay and Hay, I., p. 337. Harper's Magazine, Dec., 1853, p. 121.
[1]Cutts, pp. 92-3.
[1]Cutts, pp. 92-3.
[2]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., pp. 115, 307 (Appendix).
[3]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 307 (Appendix).

adjustment of difficulties arising out of the recent acquisition of Mexican territory. They were designed to establish certain great principles, which would not only furnish adequate remedies for existing evils, but, in all time to come, avoid the perils of similar agitation by withdrawing the question of slavery from the halls of Congress and the political arena, committing it to the arbitration of those who were immediately interested in, and alone responsible for, its consequences. * * * A question has arisen in regard to the right to hold slaves in the Territory of Nebraska, when the Indian laws shall be withdrawn and the country thrown open to emigration and settlement. * * * It is a disputed point whether slavery is prohibited in the Nebraska country by valid enactment. * * * In the opinion of those eminent statesmen who hold that Congress is invested with no rightful authority to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories, the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri is null and void."

It will be remembered that this eighth section of the Missouri Compromise provided that slavery should be prohibted in all of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30′, except Missouri. The report continued: "The prevailing sentiment in large portions of the Union sustains the doctrine that the constitution of the United States secures to every citizen an inalienable right to move into any of the Territories with his property of whatever kind and description, and to hold and enjoy the same under the sanction of law. * * * The compromise measures of 1850 affirm and rest upon the following propositions: First, that all questions pertaining to slavery in the Territories, and the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose. Second, that "all questions involving title to slaves," and "questions of personal freedom," are to be referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Third, that the provision of the constitution of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, is to be carried into faithful execution in all the original Territories the same as in the States. Still the committee did not recommend the repeal of the famous eighth section of the Missouri act, but, apparently, it indirectly authorized the inhabitants to disregard it.[1] That Douglas was alone responsible for the Kansas-Ne-

[1]Senate Reports 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 15; Flint, Douglas, p. 63.

braska act is is beyond question. It is likewise perfectly clear that it was prepared without consulting any section or faction. Douglas denied that the South had dictated it, and the facts in the case support him. There is no evidence to show that Atchison, or Stephens, or Toombs were instrumental in influencing him.[2]

His motives in introducing the bill have met with almost universal impeachment. Pike described him as "the agitator general of the slavery question, as the chief of dough-faces, as the bully of slavery," and Benton spoke of him as a poor white man who had married a woman with "niggers."[3] The Independent Democrats accused him of making the dearest interests of the people "the mere hazards in the presidential game."[4] A host of writers then and since have felt sure his motive was one solely of ambition. It is to be regretted that his private correspondence has not come down to us. But this has not hindered historians from reaching conclusions. Mr. Rhodes, for instance, so far abandons his usual careful accuracy as to declare that "in this case no confidential letters or conversations need be unearthed to arrive at a satisfactory explanation."[1] This attitude of mind has become so widespread, even among trained historians, that it is almost impossible to present even the facts in the case.

"There is not a particle of evidence to show that Douglas did not himself believe that the application of the principle of popular sovereignty to the Territory was for the best interests of the country. It was entirely possible to believe that the experiment would succeed as it had apparently succeeded in 1850."[2] The application of popular sovereignty to California, Utah and New Mexico had taken the slavery question out of Congress and placed it where it could be settled at least to the satisfaction of the people of the Territories; and certainly Congress had no better solution to offer. There was an urgent demand that the Territory be opened, as urgent demand as had been made and heeded for any earlier or later Territory. It is easy to condemn a policy suggested, very much easier than to suggest a better one. To leave the Territory till the South was ready to organize it; till a third of the Senate would not have been willing to oppose all attempts to remove the Indians, was certainly not the

[2]Rhodes, I., pp. 431-2.
[3]Pike, First Blows, pp. 217, 221.
[4]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 281; Am. Hist. Leaflet No. 17.
[1]Rhodes, I., p. 429.
[2]Hodder, Chatauquan, Vol. 29, p. 435.

part of a statesman. Had Douglas known the ultimate outcome, his plans would certainly have been different. But he had good reason to believe that popular sovereignty would have been no less successful in Nebraska than it had been in California. His "career was controlled by faith in the right of the people to govern themselves and by devotion to the interests of the West. * * * His ability has never been questioned. His honesty and patriotism have never been disproved."[1] Even in the Republican State convention of Illinois he found a defender. L. H. Hurlburt, a delegate from Boone County, said: "The Senator (Douglas) was aware of the strong current of emigration setting westward from the free States, and did, he (the speaker) could believe, rely upon the force and known disposition of this current to create free States, if let alone, even under the outrage perpetrated in this Nebraska bill."[2]

There was need for the opening of Nebraska, and he undertook the task, while at the same time attempting to control the dominating pro-slavery elements in the party without destroying the party or the Union.[3] Prof. Macy says he probably "had no more intention of actually enlarging the area of slavery than had Webster in laboring to remove the legal restriction from the Territory of Utah. Northern free labor was moving westward, as he knew, by leaps and bounds. It was not at all likely that slavery would ever gain any foothold in the region between the Rocky Mountains and the States of Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri. Douglas, no doubt, sought to further his presidential prospects without making any actual change in the practical situation respecting slavery extension."[4] His prediction, in 1850, that Nebraska would be a free Territory has already been noted; and there does not appear to be a single sentence of his to show that he had changed his opinion. While discussing the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he called attention to the fact that slavery then existed in Nebraska, and added: "I suppose it will continue for a little while during their Territorial condition, whether a prohibition is imposed or not. But when the settlers rush in—when labor becomes plenty— * * * it is worse than folly to think of its being a slave-holding country. I do not believe there is a man in Congress who thinks it could be permanently a slave-holding country. I have no idea that it could."

[1]Hodder, Chatauquan, Vol. 29, p. 436.
[2]Report of Convention in Chicago Press, June 18, 1858.
[3]Morton, History of Nebraska, I., p. 154.
[4]Macy, Political Parties in the United States, pp. 188-9.
[1]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 279.

Senator Dodge thought a few slave holders would enter the Territory with their slaves under arrangements to serve a few years, after which they would become free, as had been the case in Illinois earlier.[2] Representative Henn predicted that the settlers would be ten to one in favor of freedom. "All Nebraska," said he, "if not all Kansas, must be settled by an emigration from the non-slave-holding States."[3] May it not be possible that Douglas cajoled the South with the empty notion that the South stood some chance of gaining a slave State in competition with the freemen of the North?[4] Senator Bell, of Tennessee, in arguing against the bill, said he had been assured that slavery would go into Kansas, and that idea had been spread throughout the South. He did not believe, however, that slavery could ever be established in Kansas, and he challenged any Southern man to show him how the South was to gain anything by the bill. He thought Douglas showed great skill in getting Chase and Sumner to attack the South and unite the South for the bill, adding: "I never saw a higher degree of parliamentary tact displayed than by the Senator from Illinois on that occasion."[5]

On the 16th of January, 1854, Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, gave notice that when the bill was taken up he would offer an amendment to the effect "that the citizens of the several States or Territories shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the Territories of the United States, or of the States to be formed therefrom."[6] Mr. Douglas looked upon this amendment as a deliberate attempt to legislate slavery into the territory, though in the discussion which followed Mr. Dixon denied this intention and accepted Douglas' modification of the bill as satisfactory.

On January 23 Douglas offered a substitute bill, which differed from the original in two particulars: It declared that the slavery restriction of the Missouri compromise "was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, and is hereby declared inoperative;" (note) and it divided the Territory into two parts, Kansas and

Note.—Moses, Illinois, II., p. 588, gives a letter from G. M. McConnell, in which he says he remembers hearing Douglas say that he was overruled by the Committee on Territories, and either had to accept the amendment or give up the leadership.

[2]Ibid, p. 381 (Appendix).
[3]Ibid, p. 888.
[4]Macy, Political Parties in the U. S., p. 190.
[5]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., pp. 939-40 (Appendix).
[6]Wells, Lincoln and Seward, p. 68; Dixon, True Hist. of Missouri Comp., p. 440.

Nebraska. The people of each Territory were to determine the question of freedom or slavery to suit themselves. Dixon expressed his satisfaction with this amendment as covering what he attempted by his proposed amendment.[1] The next day Douglas consented, at the suggestion of Chase, Sumner, and others, to postpone the consideration of the bill till the 30th of the month, and on the same day the appeal of the Independent Democrats appeared in the papers.[2] This led to a savage debate between Douglas and Chase, and a storm of indignation throughout the North.[3] In the arguments which Chase made against the bill he "reached in many respects the highest point in his senatorial career."[4] It is sufficient to say that he completely demolished Douglas' argument that the principles of the compromise of 1850 were believed by anyone to supersede those of the compromise of 1820. That the basis of the compromise of 1850 was different from that of 1820 was true, but that the later principles set aside or in any sense abrogated the settlement of 1820 was "untrue in fact and without foundation in history."[1] On the 7th of February Douglas offered an amendment, which was carried, by which the Missouri Compromise was declared "inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories as recognized by the legislation of 1850."[2]

His division of Nebraska into two territories has given rise to the belief that one was intended to be free and the other slave. Mr. Rhodes writes: "It follows plainly enough, therefore, that the division of the territory was in the interest of slavery; and if Douglas had not been brought to the point of actually conceding that Kansas should be a slave State, he at least knew that there was a well-devised scheme in progress to make it one."[3] Mr. Rhodes admits he cannot trace the ways leading up to this division. Mr. Douglas clearly stated the reason for the division, but Mr. Rhodes, having first impeached Douglas' motives, will not accept his statement of the reason.[4] The real reason for the

[1]Rhodes, I., pp. 433-9; Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., pp. 175, 239, 240; Flint, Douglas, 171.

[2]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 281; Sheahan, Douglas, pp. 197-201; Rhodes, I., pp. 463-71.

[3]Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 357.

[4]Smith, Parties and Slavery, p. 100.

[1]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 275; p. 139 (Appendix); Rhodes, I., pp. 441-451.

[2]Sheahan, Douglas, p. 201.

[3]Rhodes, I., pp. 440-1.

[4]Ibid, I., p. 439; Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 221.

division of Nebraska was not connected in any way with slavery, but with the Pacific railroad. H. D. Johnson, who will be remembered as the Nebraska delegate to Congress elected by the Iowans, writes: "Before starting for Washington * * * a number of our citizens agreed upon a plan which I formed, which was the organization of two Territories. * * *" The Missouri people wished to have the Pacific railroad located in the Kansas river valley, and the Iowans were equally anxious that the Platte valley should be selected. Douglas being interested in Chicago, could readily see the advantage to his home city and was brought to favor the northern route. If a division of Nebraska could be made to further that end, Douglas could and did make it. Continuing further, Mr. Johnson writes: "Dodge * * * introduced me to Judge Douglas, to whom I unfolded my plan and asked him to adopt it, which, after mature consideration, he decided to do."[1] Senator Dodge said: "Originally I favored the organization of one Territory; but representations from our constituents, and a more critical examination of the subject—having an eye to the system of internal improvements which must be adopted by the people of Nebraska and Kansas to develop their resources—satisfied my colleague * * * and myself that the great interests of the whole country, and especially of our State, demand that we should support the proposition for the establishment of two Territories; otherwise the seat of government and leading thoroughfares must have fallen south of Iowa."[2] Representative Henn of Iowa expressed the same views in the House, and all these views corroborated exactly the reasons Douglas gave for dividing the Territory. From Iowa, then, came the call to divide Nebraska, and not from the "slavocracy."[3]

Most of the argument against the Kansas-Nebraska bill was directed against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Douglas complained that the opponents of the bill did not meet the question of popular sovereignty as a good or bad policy aside from its connection with the Missouri Compromise. He denied that the Missouri Compromise was a compact; he denied that it was more than legislation brought forward to settle the then existing controversy over slavery and contended its settlement was only temporary. By the conditions existing, Nebraska could

[1]Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., II., p. 88.

[2]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 382 (Appendix).

[3]Meigs, Benton, pp. 419-21; Davis, The Union Pacific Railway, Chap. III.; Sheahan, Fergus Hist. Pub., II., p. 205; Chicago Democratic Press, June 25, 30, July 4, 7, 10, 11, 1853; J. Loughborough, The Pacific Telegraph and Railway; Proceedings of the Railway Convention at Lacon, Ill (Cinn. 1853).

not be opened to settlement, and a new solution was demanded. He cited the votes on the Missouri act to show that the North had been opposed to it, and its representatives had voted against it in the Senate "in the proportion of more than four to one."[1] Touching upon the breach of plighted faith by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, of which the Northerners complained, Bancroft says: "Judging by their words merely, this was not altogether sincere, for there was not one of them that would not have been glad to blot out that compromise for anything more favorable to freedom; nor was there, probably, one of them that had not favored, or promised to favor, the repeal of some part of the Compromise of 1850. Had they been as absolutely candid as Dixon they would have said, 'we know neither parties nor compromises, except when they will aid us as anti-slavery men.'"[2]

But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise provision does not seem to account for the great storm which arose against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Thousands of people were led to believe that the Territory was destined to be slave territory, and that they would be shut out from the free lands. Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota had recently been filling up with thrifty Northerners, Germans, and Scandinavians, and they looked upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill as an attempt to shut them out from the free lands of these two territories, "otherwise the comparatively few reformers * * * could not have set half the nation in a blaze in a few weeks."[3]

In 1860 the census tables showed that the free Northwestern States had contributed very heavily to the population of Kansas. Of the total population, 11,617 were natives of Ohio; 11,356 of Missouri; 9,945 of Indiana; 9,367 of Illinois. The other States contributed in smaller proportions, and 10,997 were born on Kansas soil between 1854 and 1860.[4]

(To be continued.)

EDWARD McMAHON.

[1]Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 337 (Appendix).
[2]Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 353.
[3]Ibid, I., p. 357.
[4]Seventh U. S. Census, 1860, pp. 165-6.
For maps showing vote on Kansas-Nebraska Bill, see Smith, Parties and Slavery, p. 106.

A MASSACRE ON THE FRONTIER.

In obedience to instructions from Major-General Wool, United States Army, about the 1st of May, 1856, a well-equipped command of soldiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe broke camp at The Dalles, Oregon, and took the line of march for Walla Walla Valley, Washington Territory. This expedition consisted of six companies of the Ninth United States Infantry, one battery of the Third United States Artillery and one troop of the First United States Dragoons. The first named regiment had just reported on the Pacific Coast, being newly created by Act of Congress, 1855. They were armed with the splendid Minnie rifle, and from their proficiency in the light infantry or skirmish drill were dubbed the "Shanghais"—a reference to the huge chicken of that name. The artillery and dragoons were old, seasoned companies, having been stationed in the department for many years, scouting incessantly. To this command were added a small party of Indian allies, under an old chief named Stock Whittly, and a few guides, with old "Cut-Mouth John" in charge. The first day's march, as is usual, was short, a halt being made on Ten-Mile Creek. About midnight an officer from Fort Dalles rode rapidly into camp and delivered an order to our commander, the purport of which was that he should march his troops directly back; that the Indians from the Yakima country and those located at the Cascades had murdered all the whites in the portage. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour this news was speedily communicated throughout the command, and by the blaze of the quickly replenished fires the soldiers could be seen flitting about in active preparation for the countermarch, and long before the dawn of day the column was clattering along the trail towards the steamboat landing, where the diminutive steamer Mary Ann was waiting and sputtering in nervous readiness. This little boat had already enacted a somewhat tragical part in the proceedings now being narrated. She lay tied to the bank at her usual mooring when the Indians attacked the whites. The crew, consisting of Captain Baughman, and two others on shore, endeavored to regain the steamer. The engineer was shot, the two others rapidly cast off the line, and trusting to an effort to raise steam, soon placed themselves in a position to go over the rapids, preferring, I suppose, that means

of destruction to the tomahawk. Fortune favored them, however, and the Mary Ann swung broadside against an island on the further side, where she rested securely till due preparation was made, when she started for The Dalles at her highest speed. One of the two aboard was wounded in the final brave attempt to escape.

Colonel George Wright, of the Ninth Infantry, now took command, and what infantry could be stowed away were rushed upon the deck; also the artillery, with two mountain howitzers, were put aboard. A large, leaky scow was made fast alongside, and into this the dragoons, with horses and equipment, were crammed. Thus, in four short hours from the time the courier reached our camp, ten miles away, the little Mary Ann was rounding out into the broad Columbia, with the principal part of the force the camp contained. In those days travel was slow by any route in the far West, so at the end of our first day's sail we were yet ten miles from our destination, distant forty-five miles from the point of starting. A bivouac was made in the forest on the bank and the journey renewed in about time to fetch us to the Cascades at daybreak. Eyes were now strained and heads inclined in listening attitude as we approached the shore.

The first attraction was the firing of guns and waving of handkerchiefs from Bradford's store, where some dozen of the whites were held in barricade by the hostiles. This demonstration had hardly greeted us when a volley from the forest-lined shore told us that the redskins were awaiting us, also. Now, as the cavalry were by bad luck on the side nearest the bank, their predicament, mingled as they were among unruly horses, can be imagined. Quickly, however, the little boat's nose was buried in the mud and every man sprang ashore. The infantry, not to be outdone, leaping from the upper deck, a line was soon formed in the timber, which at that date was close at hand. The howitzers were discharged from the steamer, raking the woods far in front. The Indians, gathered to form resistance, were soon driven back, the troops following close upon their heels, the cracking of their rifles was soon drowned by the roar of our own fire, each man rushing on as if to devour the enemy. Soon four of them were picked up, and further on another lying prone beside a half-emptied whiskey barrel. Miserable victim of intemperance, he received no opportunity to take the pledge in this world.

Onward the skirmishers swept, through the dense brush, over fallen logs, never halting till comrades' voices at the old block-house told us they still "held the fort." This small detachment had been regularly stationed here at the center of the portage for some months, and suffered the first onslaught of the Indians, losing one of their number, but they kept them at bay for thirty hours, although they numbered but six against more than a hundred.

Soon a spirited firing was heard still on towards the larger portage. This proved to be the skirmishers, commanded by Lieutenant Phil Sheridan, who, with his usual energy, was driving the hostiles from that vicinity. The action of the militia from The Dalles above and Fort Vancouver below was simultaneous, so the redskins were compelled to vacate the whole section they had contemplated devastating, and which they had rendered quite undesirable for settlement for some years. A system of scouring the brush by skirmishers was kept up for several days, until the enemy could be no longer found or heard.

Many amusing and some serious mishaps occurred among the raw soldiers, especially at night, when burnt stumps and black boulders were easily clothed with blankets and other savage semblance. A remnant of the war party was captured on an island just below the middle rapids, to which refuge they were traced with much difficulty and danger. The able-bodied bucks, numbering eight, were very promptly hanged by order of the commander, after an examination by a commission of officers. They all met their death stoically, with the exception of one burly fellow, who so excited the ire of an eccentric lieutenant that the latter discharged the contents of his revolver into the body while it was swinging from the scaffold. The dogs were kept constantly busy after the fighting ended in hunting up the victims of the slaughter. All were finally found, numbering about twenty-three.

One poor lady—Mrs. Sinclair—was discovered floating in an eddy of the river, shot through her breast, shorn of her long hair and entirely nude. She was tenderly cared for by soldiers, humane and true, and buried with all due ceremony. Several instances of excessive barbarity were disclosed in our search and traces of desolation were abundant.

I am, however, happy to say that since this trouble the peaceful dwellers under the shadows of those gigantic mountains have not again been disturbed by the savage. The troops remained at the Cascades working amid the rain and mud until two sub-

stantial blockhouses had been erected, and leaving a sufficient garrison, departed for their different stations. The dragoons proceeded to Hood River, where they had the pleasure and pain of meeting the Yakimas, who, in retreating to their own country, had halted at this point on the Columbia about midway between the portage and The Dalles to fire some cabins and drive off some cattle. As they were posted on the northern or opposite bank considerable risk was encountered in crossing and dislodging them, the soldiers having to quit their horses and cross in Chinook canoes, which craft was generally unmanageable in our hands.

After the completion of these affairs, the Yakima expedition was organized by Colonel Wright, which campaign lasted till the snows of winter set in. Several small skirmishes took place, and those Indians were subdued. The command penetrated into the several passes of the Cascade Mountains. where the snow lay at great depth, even in the month of August. Fort Simcoe, in the valley of that name, was established in the midst of the tribes just conquered, and Major Robert Garnett was the first commanding officer. Captain Bowman, Ninth Infantry, having become insane on the expedition, was being conducted to The Dalles, when he escaped from his guard, and roaming alone through the mountains, was devoured by wolves, probably after death had overtaken him.

This narrative may seem prosy in the light of the stupendous events of war and frontier settlement just transpired, but the subject took place at an early period in the isolated Northwest and many years were required to repair the damages and great suffering was entailed thereby.

None who glean their information from the newspaper paragraphs concerning these matters can experience the thrill of horror felt by those who almost immediately witnessed them, and the past emotions can ever be traced in the faces of the settler and his family in the carelessness of everyday vocations or in the severity of old age. Frequently of late years, whilst whirling along in the railroad trains that now graces the great portags of the Columbia, I have been informed by "tourists" of the scenes set forth and shown the old barricade where the gallant Phil withstood the attack of hundreds of painted braves, when bread and water were exhausted and life hung trembling in the balance. No wonder these heroic deeds should be attributed to one who has actually since then passed through so many fiery scenes.

JOEL GRAHAM.

THE INDIAN WAR OF 1858.

In accordance with his custom, Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, commanding general of the United States Army, on the 10th of November, 1858, issued General Order No. 22, giving brief account of the numerous combats with hostile Indians throughout the Western States and Territories during the year before. Four of the affairs were in Washington Territory, the first being the unfortunate expedition, north from Fort Walla Walla, of Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Steptoe; the second the daring movement of Lieutenant Allen in the Yakima country, when the captives outnumbered the captors five to one; and the third and fourth were the wonderful march, battles and successes of Colonel George Wright, to Spokane, when, without losses of any kind among those under him, he so punished the Indians that they never forgot, and never again raised their hands and weapons against the military forces of the United States.

General Scott's brief narration of these operations follows:

XI. **May 16, 1858.**—At To-hots-nim-me, Washington Territory, companies C, E and H, 1st dragoons, and E, 9th infantry—aggregate 159—were attacked and overpowered by some twelve hundred of the Spokan, Pelouse, Coeur d'Alene, Yakima, and other Indian tribes. This unequal contest, which did not result in our favor, nevertheless furnished many instances of personal bravery and heroism which must not be lost. It was, moreover, marked by the loss of the tried, gallant and distinguished Brevet Captain O. H. P. Taylor, and of that most gallant and promising young officer 2d Lieutenant Wm. Gaston, both of the 1st dragoons.

The following non-commissioned officers and privates are mentioned for their conspicuously gallant conduct:

Company C, 1st dragoons.—1st Sergeant J. A. Hall; bugler R. A. Magan; farrier E. R. Birch; privates R. S. Montague, Alfred Barnes killed; Victor C. DeMay mortally wounded, (since dead).

Company E, 1st dragoons.—1st Sergeant William C. Williams mortally wounded, since dead; private R. P. Kerse, "who, with a few others, gallantly defended the body of Brevet Captain Taylor (lying mortally wounded) when the Indians made a desperate charge to get possession of it."

Company H, 1st dragoons.—1st Sergeant Edward Ball, who displayed the greatest courage and determination throughout

the action, and with a few men repulsed the attempt of a large number of Indians at one of the most important points; privates Frances Poisell, who assisted in rescuing and bearing off Captain Taylor under a heavy fire from the enemy; C. H. Harnish and James Crozet, company H, 1st dragoons, (both killed).

In addition to those mentioned above, the following were wounded:

Company C, 1st dragoons.—Privates James Lynch and Henry Montreville.

Company E, 1st dragoons.—James Kelly (severely,) William D. Micon, Hariet Sneckster (severely,) James Healy, Maurice Henley, Charles Hughes, and John Mitchell.

Company E, 9th infantry.—Privates Ormond W. Hammond (severely,) and John Klay and Gotlieb Berger (slightly.)

XII. **August 15, 1858.**—A party of fifteen mounted men, commanded by 2d Lieutenant Jesse K. Allen, 9th infantry, sent out by Major Garnett, of that regiment, from the Yakima expedition, surprised a camp of hostile Indians on the upper Yakima river, Washington Territory, capturing 21 men, about 50 women and children, 70 horses, 15 head of cattle, and a quantity of other Indian property.

The success was dearly bought, for the gallant young leader lost his life, and the service one of its most valuable, zealous, and faithful officers.

XIV. **September 1, 1858.**—The expedition under Colonel Wright, 9th infantry, composed of companies C, E, H and I, 1st dragoons; A, B, G, K and M, 3d artillery; and B and E, 9th infantry—aggregate five hundred and seventy—with a company of thirty Nez Perces Indians, marched from fort Walla-Walla on the 7th and 15th of August; crossed Snake river on the 25th and 26th; established a post at the crossing, which was left in charge of Bvt. Major Wyse and his company D, 3d artillery; and after a march of nearly a hundred miles mostly over a forbidding country, during which they were twice attacked, came upon a large body of united Spokan, Coeur d'Alene and Pelouse Indians, of which some four hundred were mounted.

After securing his baggage and supplies by leaving them under the guard of company M, 3d artillery, with a mountain howitzer and a detachment of fifty-four men, commanded by lieutenants H. G. Gibson, G. B. Dandy and Lyon, the whole under Captain Hardie, 3d artillery, Colonel Wright moved with the rest of his force against the Indians, who had taken possession of a high hill and an adjoining wood and awaited his attack. They were driven by the foot troops from both their positions into the plain, and then charged and utterly routed by the dragoons, with a loss of some seventeen killed and many wounded.

The troops sustained no loss in either killed or wounded.

Colonel Wright mentions the following as entitled to credit for their coolness and gallantry:

Bvt. Major Grier, 1st dragoons; Captain Keyes, 3d artillery; Captain Dent, 9th infantry; 1st Lieutenant Mullan, 2d artillery, acting as topographical engineer and commanding the friendly Nez Perces; 1st Lieutenant P. A. Owen, 9th infantry, acting assistant adjutant general; Captain Kirkham, assistant quartermaster; and Assistant Surgeon J. F. Hammond, medical department.

The following are also mentioned as having been highly commended by their immediate commanders:

Medical Department.—Assistant Surgeon Randolph.

1st Dragoons.—Lieutenants Davidson, Pender, and 2d Lieut. Gregg.

1st Sergeant James A. Hall; Sergeants Bernard Korton and Patrick Byrne; bugler Robert A. Magan; and privates James Kearney and Michael Meara, company C.

1st Sergeant C. Goetz; Sergeant J. F. Maguire; and privates J. G. Trimbell, J. Buckley, Wm. Ramage, and T. W. Smith, company E.

1st Sergeant E. Ball; Sergeant M. M. Walker; and bugler Jacob Muller, company H.

1st Sergeant W. H. Ingerton, and Sergeant William Davis, company I.

3d Artillery.—1st Lieutenants Tyler, White and Ihrie, and 2d Lieutenant Kip.

9th Infantry.—Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming.

Nez Perces.—Hutes-E-Mah-li-kan, Captain John Edward, and We-ash-not.

XV. **September 5 to 15.**—Colonel Wright, 9th infantry, after defeating the united hostile tribes at the Four Lakes, in Washington Territory, on the 1st, (as noticed above, par. XIV,) continued to advance in the Indian country with the same force, and on the 5th of September was again met by the Spokan, Pelouse, and Coeur d'Alene Indians, who had been joined by the Pend d'Oreilles.

After a continuous conflict of seven hours, over a distance of fourteen miles, and a fatiguing march, in all, of twenty-five, the Indians were completely routed, with the loss of two chiefs, two brothers of the Chief Garey, and many others of lesser note killed or wounded. The troops had but one man—name not given—wounded, and he but slightly.

Colonel Wright bears witness to the zeal, energy, perseverance and gallantry of his officers and men. He especially mentions the following:

Brevet Major Grier, 1st dragoons, commanding squadron; Captain Keyes, 3d artillery, commanding artillery battalion, acting as infantry; Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming, 9th infantry, detached to support the howitzer battery; First Lieutenant and Adjutant Owen, 9th infantry, acting assistant ad-

jutant general; Captain Kirkham, assistant quartermaster; Assistant Surgeons J. F. Hammond and J. F. Randolph; and First Lieutenant J. Mullan, 2d artillery, acting as engineer officer and commanding the friendly Indians.

The following officers are spoken of in the highest terms by their several immediate commanders, viz.:

1st dragoons.—Lieutenant Pender.

3d artillery.—Company K, Captain E. O. C. Ord and Lieutenant Morgan; company G, Captain J. A. Hardie and First Lieutenant Ransom; company M, 1st Lieutenant Gibson and 2d Lieutenant Dandy; company A, 1st Lieutenant Tyler and 2d Lieutenant Lyon.

First Lieutenant White, commanding howitzer battery, composed of a detachment from company D, 3d artillery, and Second Lieutenant Kip, adjutant of Keyes' battalion.

Captain Dent, 9th infantry, with his company B, and First Lieutenant Davidson, 1st dragoons, commanding company E, together with the friendly Nez Perces, guarded the train effectually.

After resting on the 6th, Colonel Wright continued his pursuit of the Indians through their country, arriving at the Coeur d'Alene Mission on the 15th of September. During this march he had a skirmish with the enemy on the 8th of September, took from them some 900 horses, a large number of cattle, with quantities of wheat, oats, roots, &c.; all of which were converted to the use of the troops or destroyed.

Those severe blows resulted in the unqualified submission of the Coeur d'Alenes, the dispersion of the other tribes, and it is not doubted, ere this, in the subjugation of the whole alliance.

Results so important, without the loss of a man or animal, gained over tribes brave, well armed, confident in themselves from a recent accidental success, and aided by the many difficulties presented by the country invaded, reflect high credit on all concerned.

Colonel Wright is much to be commended for the zeal, perseverance, and gallantry he has exhibited.

To Brigadier General Clarke, commanding the department of the Pacific, credit is primarily and eminently due for the sound judgment shown in planning and organizing the campaign, (including Major Garnett's simultaneous expedition,) as well as for his promptness and energy in gathering, from remote points in his extended command, the forces, supplies, &c., necessary for its successful prosecution. In this merited tribute to the General his staff is included.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

THE STATE ARCHIVES AT OLYMPIA.

In a report on the State archives of Washington, made a few weeks ago to the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, I gave a detailed account of the condition and contents of the archives at Olympia, Tacoma and Seattle. In some instances, especially in the Governor's office, many papers were calendared. The contents of the papers, books and documents generally in some of the offices made it seem wise that the report should not alone be a report in the narrower meaning of that word, but should also be made to act as a guide to the vaults. The notes taken in the examination of the vaults and offices during the vacations of 1906 and 1907 reveal many interesting facts that are rather beyond the scope and purpose of the report—facts of State rather than of national import—and which may serve in a way to make known the conditions of the earlier records and the urgent need of better and of organized care of them.

Official records are preserved for one primary reason—to give constant and ordered direction to the business of the State, to guarantee stated rights and decisions, and to be witnesses in disputed questions. The importance of this reason is the order it gives to the immediate present; as the present proceeds into the future it leaves the records less and less appealed to, when finally official appeal is seldom if ever made to them. Yet the State is compelled to preserve them. When this point is reached and the original importance and usefulness has disappeared they pass into the realm of archives in the historical sense. The State officials, as business men of the present, loose their interest in them; a land question or a trade-mark similarity may cause them to brush away the accumulated dust from some volume or some bundle only to replace it again in the contented disorder. The interest of the many has given place to the interest of the few; the business and official world leave the records to the isolated history student. But the law, and official pride in completeness, compels their preservation—yet both permit them to be stored in old boxes, thrown into shelves, hung from the rafters, piled in lockers and dumped into wastebaskets and corners. Attempts have twice been made within the last decade to correct this, but in both instances the Legislature, for different

reasons, failed to pass or to provide for the measures introduced. Where the offices are of late creation and the records have not yet become numerous the official pride blends with the order demanded by the important present; but when the offices reach back to the middle of the century and the records have greatly multiplied the pride has flickered and gone out. Bundled and mixed lie the books and papers of the Territory and State governors on the upper shelves of the Auditor's vault; while the war correspondence of Governor Stevens is jumbled in two unlocked cases beneath an open window in the basement; and some of the Journals of the Council, House and Senate bear misleading labels. Yet the flickering pride of Secretary Brown, in the Governor's office, has ordered some of the early Governors' papers; and Mr. Percival, of the Secretary of State's office, has replaced the time-worn and illegible labels of the Legislature records; and the State Librarian has evinced his interest in preparing a bill for the last Legislature creating a Historical Archives Commission on the Mississippi plan.

The year 1889 seems to be as much a year of transition in the care of the records as it was a transition in the government from Territory to State. It seems to mark the boundary between order and disorder; between official records and historical documents; between the State official and the State historian. Each office varies as to its borderland, yet Territory and State, some way and in some way or other, designate two conditions of records. In the Governor's office the border is in the administration of Governor Ferry. Yet some of the papers and books scattered back as far as 1853 are found in the well-ordered office of the Secretary and in the Governor's vault; while on the other hand, some of Governor Ferry's papers are to be found among the Territorial bundles on the shelves in the Auditor's vault. In the Governor's office, as well as in other offices, the Territorial confusion is rapidly encroaching upon the order of the State documents. In the Secretary of State's office the Territorial material is divided between the vaults in this office and in the insurance department. The domestic and foreign corporations, the Legislature Journals and the trade-mark records are ordered to the beginning. Here the border line is pushed far back beyond 1889. This year makes a sharp division in the Supreme Court records; the Territorial books and documents are thrown into lockers in the vault or stowed in confusion in a basement room. The books in the Auditor's office are ordered beyond 1889, but this can not be said of the papers. Beyond

the register, reaching back to 1888, the current docket book, and the file of opinions since November, 1896, confusion reigns supreme among the documents in the Attorney General's vault. The current records mark the division for the State library.

Lack of room is usually given as the cause of this disorder which is acknowledged to exist among the early State and Territory, or both, records. But this can not be the reason in the Attorney General's vault with its ample space, nor in the Governor's vault with its available shelf room; nor the reason why Governor Stevens' papers should be left in their unprotected condition. With acknowledged disorder in plenty of room, lack of official pride would then seem to be cause of all this. But lack of pride, also, is not sufficient reason, for the fact that interest is shown in the work done in the Governor's and Secretary of State's records; and the Attorney General contemplates the assortment and arrangement of his documents. The interest and the will, to a greater or less degree, are there, but official time and duties demand concentration on the present records, while neither official duties, time or law demands order among those of the past. Order is found among the records just so long as they are of immediate use; when they pass beyond this stage of usefulness they, like their purpose, are forgotten. The official has no time to battle with this forgetfulness. If he had the time it is not probable that he would know what to do with the documents, how to order, catalogue and calendar them to make them of use to the student. The official uses his documents for official purposes; the student uses them for quite another purpose. The official orders them for his ends, the student for his; it is not at all likely that the State official can do this work for the historical student. Again supposing that the official could do something toward this end, would the student be forthcoming to use them? Up to the present the investigator has indeed been rare; the interest in the past of the State, our receding from it, the general interest in the Indian wars will, no doubt, bring students to the records in time—but, unfortunately, in these days State history is sacrificed for national, colonial and European research. So the student as yet is but a rare stimulus to the officials regarding the care of their ancient records.

The Governor's papers: The records are divided between this office, the circulating library basement and the vaults of the Auditor and the Secretary of State. In the Governor's vault some of the books on the top shelf go back to 1853. Governor Stevens' letter book, however, contains besides letters other pa-

pers relative to Indian matters; also proclamations of 1861, commissions of 1855, appointments of notaries public, commissioners of deeds, etc. It extends from 1853 to 1870. There are also small books of Governors Squire, Saloman, Semple and Moore, while the bulk of their papers are in the Auditor's vault. On the top shelves are mixed together: Three Surveyor's reports of 1897; "Chart of Bureau of Labor, Showing R. R. Business in Washington for Years 1897-98," etc.; MSS. "1894 Court of Inquiry, N. G. W."; county examination papers, 1891, the minutes of the "W. S. Bd. of Ed., June, '91," bound together with a "Statement of Facts, S. of W. vs. H. Craemer;" the eleventh biennial report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1892; a package containing examination questions, reading circle matters, data regarding denominational schools; matters relative to the University, Agricultural College and the Normal Schools, etc., mostly of 1894-96; another "Manuscript of Report of Supt. Pub. Instruction, 1890," and several bundles of pardon papers. This, no doubt, is sufficient to indicate the condition of the upper shelves.

In the Auditor's vault many papers are loose and quite mixed. In "Misc. Papers, Gov. Semple," 1887-89, will be found tide land papers of Snohomish City and county, 1884. Pardons, educational reports, centennial proclamations, and letters, are mixed with applications for offices at Steilacoom. Dates are sometimes incorrectly written or are misleading. Territorial Treasurers' papers are to be found among the papers of the Governors. With "Notaries Public, 1886-89," will be found Thanksgiving proclamations from the different States for 1880. With "Prosecuting Attorney, Territory," is found Indian enumeration for 1891. Election returns are among "State, U. S. Officers." In a bundle marked "Insane Asylum, Western Washington, 1890," all papers relate to the recommendation or appointment of tide land appraisers. Thanksgiving and Arbor Day proclamations are among "U. S. Land Office Report, 1884." Bundles and boxes are labeled differently on different ends or sides. "Territorial Pardon, Miscellaneous Applications," holds also Geologist's reports, and proclamations. The shelf room alone has dictated the arrangement of the books, boxes, papers and bundles.

Governor Stevens' war correspondence covers the Indian War of 1855-57. Some of the papers are of 1853; some interpolated documents, printed matter, etc., bring the date down to 1872; but most of the papers are of 1856. They are in two pigeonholed field cabinets, each containing about an equal amount of

matter. The documents are of very unequal value, and the contents of the first case is of much greater value than the contents of the second. The double doors are without lock; a narrow slat was once nailed across the front to hold them closed. They stood in the packing room of the circulating library in the basement; and the window just above them was open day and night during my examination of their contents in 1906. The cases were still standing in this position during my second examination in May, 1907. The capitol legend has it that the papers were once upon a time considered junk and rubbish, were dumped into an ash-barrel in an alley and mingled with the manure from the neighboring stable. To this treatment the papers bore evidence when they were later rescued by an interested hand. But former State Librarian J. A. Gabel writes in a letter to me that this story "of the rescue of the cabinets was slightly exaggerated. The old correspondence was contained in an old cabinet and some boxes which were stored in an old building, the lower floor of which was used for a barn. The papers were brought to my attention by Adjutant-General Drain, and I unearthed them from the rubbish and placed them in the State Library. The soiled appearance of the material is due largely, I presume, to the rough field usage and to the fact also that since stored it has become wet and mouldy."

On the inside of the door of the first case is a card, reading: "1st 2 rows & pigeon holes 2, 3 & four of 3rd row are letters fully separated from vouchers. Do not destroy this order. J. H." This was Miss Josephine Holgate, of the State Library, who did this work about 1905. In the same year Mr. Hazard Stevens, so he related to me during his visit to Olympia in 1906, made an examination of the papers for data to controvert certain statements which Mr. Ezra Meeker made in his "Tragedy of Leschi" regarding the dealings of his father, Governor Stevens, with the Indians in the Treaties of 1854. Aside from these two handlings the papers seem not to have been touched since they were placed in the cabinets.

Vouchers, bills, invoices, muster rolls into and out of the service, and routine papers, form for the most part the bulk of the material in the second case. The most valuable letters and papers are in the first cabinet, but mixed with a mass of material like the contents of the second. Here is the correspondence with the Federal vessels in the Sound waters during the war; the letters relating to their troubles with the Northern Indians, the fighting with them at Port Gamble and Steilacoom, their trans-

portation to Victoria, and their patrol of the Sound. The papers recounting the campaigns east and west of the mountains, the fights at Connell's Prairie and in the Yakima Valley; the trouble on the Columbia and on the Snohomish; the siege of Seattle and the White River massacre; the Walla Walla campaign of Governor Stevens; material dealing with the enlistment of Indians in the militia and the provisions made for them; the trials of Leschi and of other Indians, and the Chenowith controversy. Documents regarding the declaration and enforcement of martial law in Pierce County; the treatment of the foreigners and of the foreign-born; the organization of a company at Whatcom, and the demands made by the Northern Indians for the return of an Indian woman who was sold in 1854 to a man later a volunteer in Peabody's company. The papers in the controversy between the regular army and the volunteers; the correspondence to and from the various companies and the Territorial officers, and with the Federal arsenal at Benicia and the officers at San Francisco. Letters, petitions, news articles, poetry, protests, reports of engagements on the field—all, in other words, forming practically the whole background of the Washington of that day.

The most congested of all are the records in the Secretary of State's vault. Material for which there is little call or use is in general confusion. Boxes have changed lids and the labels are thus misleading. Of the Legislature Journals, Vol. I., is labeled "Memorials and Joint Resolutions, 1853-54, 1854-55," yet really runs to 1862, and contains an index for the first seven sessions. Vol. 7, "Journal, 1860, continued," runs to 1865; Vol. 8, "Journal, 1864," runs to 1868; Vol. 9, "Journal, 1864-65," also runs to 1868, Vol. 8 being of the House and Vol. 9 of the Council. Vol. 10, "Journal, 1867-68," runs to 1869-71, and is of the Council. In the filing on the shelves, Vol. 19 should be Vol. 21. A volume marked "Indian Affairs" is, no doubt, Governor Stevens' first book of record bearing as its first date March 21, 1853. It contains letters directed from Washington, D. C., to Fort Benton; accounts of weights and premiums to the Indians on the upper Mississippi; United States accounts of 1869; and a record of the script issued by the Quartermaster and Commissary General. Bills, resolutions, vetoed bills, letters, boom plats, election returns, notarial appointments, memorials, accounts, printed books, etc.—all of no immediate use if ever at all, except to the student, are piled in lockers and on shelves.

On the top shelves in the vault of the Insurance Department are many bundles mostly of the Territorial Secretary of State.

"Jail Reports prior to 1901;" session laws of 1881 to 1888; pardon papers, 1855-76; blue prints; abstracts; extradition papers, 1862 to 1887; Treasurer's receipts; Council acts of 1869 unsigned by the Governor; civil practice code, 1881. A package marked "Miscellaneous Papers, Prior to Statehood" dates from 1854. It contains the "Original of Seal of W. T." and was "Recorded May 1st, 1854. C. H. Mason, Secy. Wash. Ter." It is the original sketch from which was made the Territorial seal now standing in the Secretary of State's vault. This sketch evidently had a romantic existence before it came into the hands of the Territorial Secretary and years later was stowed away in its present oblivion, as may be seen from the following note attached to it: "O. March 28, 1889. My Dear Ed. The enclosed original of the seal of the territory should probably be on the files in your office. Resp. Eugene Semple." In this package also is the original plat of the capitol grounds, Olympia, dated May, 1857; together with papers pertaining to these grounds and abstracts of the lots transferred. Just prior to 1906 a legal attempt was made by the heirs of the original donors to recover these grounds no longer used for capitol purposes. Whether these papers, plat and abstracts would have been of value in this litigation I am unable to say, but certain it is that they were not consulted, as is evidenced by their present condition, as well as by a statement from the Attorney General's office.

Beyond MSS. copies of the reports for 1901-02 and 1902-03, and returns from mills and factories, 1901-04, there are no records in the office of the Labor Commissioner beyond the present administration. Mr. Hubbard made diligent search in all likely places and offices, but no documents of his predecessors could be found.

In a basement room is a mass of material belonging to the Supreme Court. Nothing more seems known of it than that it belonged to the Territorial Court and some day it is intended to put it in order. Neither the window nor the door was secure. Here are bundles of testimony, docket sheets, great quantities of exhibits, transcripts, opinions, Pierce County census for 1883, etc. The oldest paper that came to hand was dated September, 1858, and nothing was found beyond 1890.

The question may readily be asked: Of what use or value are these old papers and why not leave them gather dust in peace? First, they are of no use; their usefulness passed away long ago, and it is very improbable that any official in his regular duties will find it necessary to disturb them. As the years

roll on their mass will proportionately increase. Second, their value increases with their age—when the words, use and value are thus thrown into juxtaposition; their value increases inversely with their usefulness. They were useful to the many; they are valuable to the few and only indirectly to the many. The history student is now interested in them as was formerly the official, but in a different way. The official carried on the life of the State and Territory in accordance with law or policy, or, as legislators, made laws and policies in applying traditions to current problems—his letters, papers, books and journals were the evidence to all that his duties had been performed. The life of 1855-57 marched on and left the documents behind; the historian now uses them to reconstruct the Territory of the Indian wars, and by his art and his personality resurrects the life of those days. The Constitution, the acts of the Legislature and the decisions of the courts of record are documents now used by the lawyer and statesman in directing the present in accordance with the past. These documents and others the historian uses in like manner—to direct the present directly or through his presentation of the facts influences others to do it. The Indian wars are over and there is no probability of their return; but the spirit aroused there had its effect on the white men in relation to the Indians and to each other, and these effects can never be eradicated. The Territorial east and west were thrown together as never before; the people of the Sound came into new relations with each other; a kindred feeling arose between both sides of the Cascades via the passes and the Columbia; as a unit they fought their foe and as an entity they presented themselves before the other States and Territories. Their material gains are ours, and their spiritual life is our inheritance unconsciously through ourselves and consciously through the historian. Third, the law requires the preservation of the records irrespective of their age or immediate usefulness. The law provides for their care in files, racks, cases, vaults and clerks while the records are in making and in constant reference use, but fails to provide vault space and clerical care when their usefulness is passed. The many make and use them; the few—as students—work with them. The State provides for the many but not for the few. The majority rules, it is true, but it rules all and for all. Fourth, let them gather dust in peace, but in some protected and ordered way. If these old books and papers are in the way numerous libraries would gladly relieve the State of their care and expense. The officials, however, feel that they must be preserved and

hope for a systematic care of them—yet beneath a basement window, amid waste paper and rubbish, stands—or stood in May, 1907—Governor Stevens' war correspondence, the State's most valuable documentary asset.

J. N. BOWMAN.

Berkeley, California, February 6, 1908.

THE OREGON PIONEER.

Had you been in Portland on a recent day in June you might have seen a strange procession passing through the streets. One man, bent with years, walked feebly in the front. He bore a banner telling the year of his arrival in Oregon. Other aged men and aged women in little companies followed closely behind, each company in succession bearing a banner of a later date. Few were the banners of the '30s and early '40s, and few were the groups in those irregular front lines in which some husband or wife did not walk companionless. Larger companies of the '50s and the '60s followed, and men still stalwart and women still comely walked on in conscious pride of the honor that on that day was theirs. For they were the guests of the city, and many a cheer and shout of pleasantry marked their progress toward the great Armory, where they were to sit down to a banquet fit for an assemblage of kings, and be eulogized as the bravest and best in all the land.

These were the pioneers of Oregon, and Washington, and Idaho, come to the mother City of Portland to hear once more the roll-call of the living and the dead, to renew the friendship that began when Oregon comprised all the Northwest; when Oregon was a part of neither the United States nor of Canada; when Oregon, unpossessed, as it were, and undivided, was all their own.

How changed are the scenes they look on now! How thinned are their own victorious ranks! A few more Junes shall come and go and there will be none left to walk in that yearly procession. And those banners borne aloft so long must also perish. But the fame of the pioneers will live forever in legend, song and story, and three great States will never cease to erect monuments to their memory.

'Tis enough! No strain of sadness can do justice to the Oregon pioneer. His was no mournful existence. He lived in the halcyon days of youth and hope. He came hither with great expectations, and he realized yet more. I have heard him laugh at the hardships and dangers he passed through. He sang aloud as he cracked his whip about his oxens' ears in the early morning start across the plains. He had his wife and

children with him, and with them he chatted and joked around the campfire at night, and lay down to dream of love and happiness in the new home he would build beyond the shining mountains.

To whom shall I compare the Oregon pioneer? Whether by land or by sea, the journey to Oregon from the settled East took longer than the voyage the Dutch ventured on a little earlier in their flight for freedom to Cape Colony. Our ancestors migrated from the German shores to England, and thence after a thousand years to Massachusetts and Virginia. History tells us how much the race was bettered by each migration—by each transplating. Shall we doubt the race gained a new hardihood, a new courage, a new love of independence in the third and last journey to the West? Nay, the strong survived and bred a hardier stock than ever the world had known. And so, if even in America, as I believe, the Star of Empire takes it westward way, and if the balance of power is even now held in the West, know that for these things we must chiefly thank the Oregon pioneer. For by as much as the love of gold is less noble than the love of home and country by so much less, it seems to me, will the abiding influence of the early settlers of California be less than that of the pioneer of Oregon.

And who was the Oregon pioneer? Not Captain Gray, who found our mighty river, or Lewis, or Clark, or any of Astor's men, or Bonneville, or that magnificent dreamer, Hall J. Kelly. These were but the harbingers of settlement on our shores. Not yet were the hearthstone and the altars of the American home established here.

Who, then, was the Oregon pioneer? He was such a one as Jason Lee, who came in 1834 in answer to the call of the Nez Perces Indians for the white man's Book of Heaven. He with his companions opened a school for the Indians, as did Whitman and Spalding two or three years later. He set up the missions of Chinook and Nesqually, in this State. He founded the City of Salem and Willamette University. He drew up and carried the first memorial from Oregon to Washington asking Congress to extend the protection of the United States over the Oregon country. And a remarkable document it was—wise, statesmanlike and prophetic. His was the first marriage of a white man with a white woman in Oregon. He beheld the greatness of the Oregon to be, and gave his life for the realization of his vision. In his death far away he longed to be buried in his beloved Oregon, and grandly was his wish

fulfilled when, after sixty years of sepulcher in Canada his body was brought back to Salem, and there reinterred by many distinguished citizens and the State officials and the Pioneers' Associations of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. With solemn joy they laid him to rest in the old mission cemetery where his wife and child had slept so long. Here I am on familiar ground. It is hard for me to pass so swiftly on. Often have I lingered long and lovingly amid the scenes where the feet of Jason Lee have trod.

The Oregon pioneer was such an one as Narcissa Whitman, that beautiful woman with golden hair and snowy brow, who came riding across the continent on her bridal tour. And that other dark-eyed one, Eliza Spalding, the sweet singer who finished the farewell song alone in the little church of her native town when the congregation broke down in tears. Even so was the highest type of wife and mother to be the Oregon pioneer. But of these two women and of Marcus Whitman and H. H. Spalding another paper will speak more deservedly.

There was Father Blanchet settled among his flock, who did great good to the settlers in ministering to their temporal as well as to their spiritual wants. There were W. H. Gray and Dr. White, and George Abernethy and Dr. Babcock, who drew up the plans for the provisional government that made Oregon a little American republic at the very time when England was most desirous to make it a province of hers. It was the Oregon pioneer that saved Oregon for the American nation, not the statesmen in Washington. That call of Jo. Meek's "Who's for a divide? Follow me," in that epochal meeting at Champoeg, was infinitely wiser and more eloquent than all of Webster's great speeches against the occupation of Oregon. All honor to the fifty-two who crossed the line with Meek—the fifty-two whose sole survivor, Francis Xavier Matthieu, is the father of our townswomen, Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Geer. But what shall I say more? For time fails me to tell of the Waldos, the Dennys, the Applegates, the Scotts of literary fame, of the brave soldiers Lane and Nesmith; of Ezra Meeker, who last year retraced his steps over the old wagon road to the East, building a monument in the presence of many people to mark every stage of the way; of the Royals, and the Wilsons, and Glovers; of the Meanys, and Youngs, and Holmans, who are doing so much to preserve our early history; of the immortal Stevens, and a multitude of others whose names must ever come to mind when we think of the past.

Such was the Oregon pioneer, who, with heroic patience, subdued the wilderness, battled mightily with tribes of savages, triumphed over British enterprise and diplomacy, selected with unerring wisdom the strategic sites of our chief cities, and gave to the American Union these three great Northwestern States.

The rivalry with England could do the pioneer no harm. It quickened his patriotism and summoned all his powers to larger action. The settlement of the Oregon question has served as an example of peaceful arbitration to all nations and to all succeeding generations.

Dr. John McLaughlin's services to the Oregon pioneers must be forever a bond between the two peoples, who are still neighbors and who have so many ideals, so many aims, so many hopes in common. And if in the passage of the years the good, old Doctor, as it now seems probable, should be called the Father of Oregon, none would be more willing than the children of the pioneers to yield this highest honor to him who, being here before them, succored all Americans who came, and at last for love of them cast in his lot with them and became himself an American citizen and of Oregon pioneers the first.

And so I circle back to the thoughts with which I began—to entreat once more your regard, your admiration, your veneration for these old toilers among us who, as I have said, laid the foundations for all we do or may hope hereafter to accomplish. Some day we shall read of their joy in reaching this Western shore in words as eloquent as those of Xenophon in telling how the Ten Thousand, in beholding the waters of the Euxine after their long-march across Armenia, cried out as one man, "The sea, the sea!" Some day the story of their travels will be told all over the world as now we tell of Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece. Some day the historians of America will relate with equal ardor the landing of the Pilgrims and the coming of the Oregon pioneer.

WILLIAM P. MATTHEWS.

Wilbur, Washington, February 3, 1908.

DOCUMENTS.

This installment finishes the series of fine old Hudson Bay Company documents, furnished by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, from the collection of materials she made in the preparation of her book "McDonald of Oregon."

The Oregon Missionaries.

Archibald McDonald, in this long and interesting letter, informs his correspondent on many points, among which are the facts that three settlements of American missionaries had been made. He refers, of course, to the Lees in the Willamette Valley, Whitman at Waiilatpui and Spalding at Lapwai.

Colville, 25th Jan'y, 1837.

My dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your very kind letter of this very date last year, & was happy to learn that you and yours were then in the enjoyment of all the blessings this visionary world can afford: If I on my part take up the pen this early in the season, tis not to say that this is the latest date you will hear from us. No friend but as I am situated some preliminary steps are necessary to make the winding up of my correspondence more shure and convenient [obliterated] 20th. April, when the more important and pressing affairs of the concern must be attended to. I am not assisted with the scrape of a pen by clerks as heretofore was the case, indeed I may almost say there is not a man in the district that can sign his own name for Ermatinger with the exception of a couple of weeks middle of December I never see; his sojourn being constantly in the F. Head camp & the Kootenais business is in charge of Big Charles & Antoine Felix—old Rivet is the summer master & Deputy Gov'r of Colville—so you all cannot say that our bill of expense for clerks here is extravagant. I must own however that the bill of wages nevertheless is heavy—we have 28 Men and Boys and the most of them being old hands or otherwise useful their wages amount high. The Trade also is on a more liberal scale than in our early days in the Columbia, especially in the upper country both with Indians & Freemen in consequence of the number of new adventures now pouring in upon us from the American side of the mountains. Our profits however continued between 3 and 4 thousand. The farm

at present is on an extensive scale. What think you this winter upwards of 5000 Bushels of Grain?—namely—3000 of wheat, 1000 of corn and more than 1200 of other grain. Your 3 calves are up to 55 & your 3 Grunters would have swarmed the country if we did not make it a point to keep them down to 150. With all this and its concomitant comforts, I need not say that we live well—last season to complete our independence I had a handy man from the sea and in three months got us up a new mill & new stores the best between Cape Disappointment & Fort Coulonge. With your two friends of old Ogden & Black I made the trip to the sea last summer accompanied by Cowie who discontinued here the intended voyage out. There we found the usual bustle not at all diminished by the presence of a new transport ship from England and a very superb steam vessel intended for the coast. In this Skokum Ship as the Chinooks call her the Isle a la Crosse Gents & myself were treated with a delightful cruise round the mouth of the Willamette before her final departure for the coast with Finlayson, who superintended her first essay in those seas. By last account she reached her destination safe & proved well adapted for the project in view. She was to have returned by Johnsons Straits inside Vancouvers Island & winter in Puget's Sound—but of the happy performance off this trip I have not yet heard. Three other vessels are also employed in that trade and the occasional trips to California & the Islands. Work & Dr. Kennedy are at new Fort Simpson substituted for Nass. Manson & [illegible] Kipling (your Lac La Loche staff) at Fort McLoughlin—Yale at Langley and Kittson at Nusqually in Puget Sound—this is the coast distribution & you cannot say there supernumeraries. Birney again is at Ft. George Laframboise has the Umqua Dept. Payette the Lower Snake District & Tom the Upper—your friend John McLeod is a sort of a go between the three last places, who I dare say will be writing for himself. Black & Pambrun are at their old places; so that if you should be at a loss to know where the deuce the superabundance of gentl'n are, if there be any, look for them at Vancouver. Ogden, besides Squire Fisher, has seven clerks with him at the 7 Posts namely—McLane—Lane-McBrane—Fraser—Anderson—McKinley & McIntosh.—So far I am more particular with you in these matters than I will be with any of my other Indian country correspondents as I take it for granted you dont every day see a Columbia Herald. Your frequent visits now however to Montreal & Lachine might perhaps have saved me the task of going so minutely into our legal news.

On politics I could also dilate a little too, but as I have just observed, the frequency of your visits to the great folk about Lachine must put you in possession of everything interesting on that head. Our betters seem to have a wonderful attachment to service—not one of them will budge—rather make the tour of Italy & Holy Land upon the adventageous terms of full pay than either retire or return to the country. I see the honest

man your father-in-law is a length promoted and I believe has already resigned, at least he himself wrote me so much last fall. I do not know when or how all our expectant clerks are to be provided for, but they seem exceedingly important at present. The last affair into which we were all lugged was to entail upon us advantages that I cannot for the soul of me forsee—the general profits are annually decreasing and will continue to decrease —happy those who have their fortunes already made—but enough on this gloomy subject. I hope you continue to hear pleasing accounts of the Boys. My wife is anxious to know what family you and Charlotte have now. Flora must now be an age to demand the untying of your purse strings. We have as yet but an only girl who with our boy is all the family we have here—the other chaps are at R R—three with Mr. Jones and one with the grandfather. By the by I have the pleasure to correct you in the information you had from Mr. McKay at Lachine. Earl Selkirk is not dead—at least end of last April he was at White Hall in America alive and active after returning from New Orleans—he is again about returning thro the Southern States, and this summer tis not at all improbable we shall see him from the head of the Missouri across upon a tour to the Columbia—what think you of that—I am aware of the passage in the papers that misled Mr. McKay. The traversing of the continent in that direction is now becoming more safe & familiar to our ear every day. I have now St. Louis cows & horses at Colville—two or three American clergymen with their families & houlshold goods came across last season & are now settled, the one in the Willamette and another in the Blue Mountains of Walla Walla and a third at the Clear water forks of the Nez Perces. We also have an Episcopalean Minister of our own at headquarters—so you must own "the march of intellect" is making great progress in our part of the wilderness. It is now almost an age since we saw one another—so much so indeed that you seem to forget the exact place. My memory is better—it was the Forks of Spokan & not Okanagan. this recollection brings on other melancholy reflections—poor Dease is no more and the fate of poor Douglas still more appalling in the Sandwich Islands—they were both our companions in the last parting glass. I have a very long and interesting letter from Edw'd Ermatinger at St. Thomas in U. Canada. He is well and in the way of succeeding well. His brother joined me here middle of last month—left us 9th. inst. with 14 men & 2 Boats for below; since that time I am informed of his detaintion by ice above Okanagan, & must await the grand breaking up of the River as the frost continues to increase in severity. They cannot suffer much. as their cargo is flour, corn & pease & the neighbourhood still affords Rocons if not Macons. The most of his men are York people whom I detained here in the fall until the flour was ground. This hanh of provisions—apuhmus, cord & parploks is intended for Walla Walla and a large party that is to be fitted up from there in the spring under I

believe the direction of Mr. John McLeod. We must now absolutely make a bold stand on the frontiers. Though not a lucrative business its prosecution will have its advantages. We are satisfied from good information that the Americans attempting that trade make nothing out of it. Indeed the Equippers at St. Louis sent up an agent last summer to secure from the leaders of the Trappers all they could before their couriers **du Bois** were declared insolvents while the outfits continue from St. Louis—and a strong influential party has a direct interest in keeping the trade in that channel—we shall always be able to compete with them, but the moment an entrepot is formed by American subjects near the mouth of the Columbia good bye to our advantages.

April 3d Two days ago Ermatinger sent me a Budget from Spokan after his return from below—a vast deal of domestic news, and upon the whole nothing amiss all the way from Ft. Simpson to Umqua. Finlayson safely landed from the steamer in Puget Sound last fall. I expect him here in a few days on his way out also Douglas and Fisher, but Black it would appear wont budge from Kamloops. McLean got as far as Cape Disappointment on a Monterey voyage but being 45 days wind bound there was recalled & was succeeded by Birnie—he is now about Walla Walla arranging affairs for the Snake Expedition. We have had a very severe winter here—would you believe that the horses which left us with the F Head outfit the 21st of last month are not yet at Spokan. It will be some days yet before we can turn out our ploughs. Ermatinger took upwards of six weeks going down the Columbia even by leaving his lading at Okanagan. I am anxious to close my private correspondence as a very disagreeable task is just imposed on me by Order of Council to collect evidence & make out affidavits from our men here in the case of that unhappy man Heron.—Meantime

I am
My dear Sir,
Very sincerely & truly yours

(Signed) ARCH'D McDONALD.

Yankee Competition.

John Work writes to Edward Ermatinger at St. Thomas, Upper Canada, telling the news of Fort Simpson. Among other things he mentions the competition from Yankee fur traders and hopes it will cease.

Fort Simpson N. W. Coast.
15th Feby. 1837.

My dear Ned

On the 31st December last I had the pleasure of receiving your very kind and highly valued favour of the 11th Feby. last

and was much gratified by learning that you and Mrs. Ermatinger and the little ones were well and getting on prosperously. It gives me joy to hear of your increased emoluments from the Bank and the confidence from which it results. May it still be further augmented and success and prosperity attend you in all your undertakings is the sincere wish of your old friend Work. Ned how often I envy you of the happiness you enjoy compared to anything within our reach in this cursed country. But since there is no remedy we must be content and make the best of a bad job till we have the means of doing better. I am happy to inform you that except occasional twitches of rheumatism I am in good health. The affairs here under my charge going on as favourably as can be expected, last summer we had a very keen competition with two ships from the States, I am in hopes your Yankee friends had so much of opposition and made so badly out that they will not feel much disposed to return again and I assure you I dont long to see them. I have formerly given you an account of this place and the coast altogether as well as the savage tribes of Indians we have to deal with. They are getting no better only a short time ago we had to fire upon them but no lives were lost on either side. The smallpox broke out among them away to the northward somewhere last spring and reached this place in September and is advancing on to the southward, great numbers of the Indians have died of it and I have no doubt will be the cause of very poor returns this season. Having so many little ones now to provide for, the dread of the expenses has induced me to defer my intended visit to the civilized world for a year or two longer, but I have not given up the idea, I have got the wife and two youngest girls brought on to join me here, the two eldest remain at Vancouver at school a parson and his lady came out there to reside last summer. I was in hopes this would be of great service to the young ones, but I regret much to learn that some misunderstanding exists between them & the girls at Vancouver, and I fear will not be easy made up. This is in many respects not a very desirable place. Yet as some notice may be attracted it is perhaps preferable to some others. I have therefore preferred it for a short time I have not heard from Frank for near a twelvemonth, he was then he hoped starting on his last trip to the plains, he tells me he had received some encouragement to hope for promotion, it ought to be realized, and I sincerely hope it will be so. Our mutual friend J. Tod from all I can learn from himself & others has made an unfortunate matrimonial speculation in his letter he tells me he had arranged to go to England and leave his wife & child with their friends and intended returning early to Canada in order to pay you a visit, poor man his wife is deranged, I am really sorry for him. He will give you all this country news. The report you heard is I really believe entirely unfounded and entirely arose from no other cause than his taking a glass of grog occasionally in an evening as was our custom in former days. As to myself I

have not been partaking in anything like a booze for a long time nor do I feel the least relish for it, even were I alongside of my good friend Ned I durst scarcely indulge for I could not bear it. I have not seen poor Dease these many years but I understand he has taken out his wife and several little ones to Canada, a step which I fear he will repent. Among civilized people neither himself nor her can be happy, to join in anything like civilized society with her is out of the question. What tribe she belongs to I cant say but think her a Flathead: I hope that he may be able to make himself comfortable. I could scrawl on much longer but don't like to have you taxed with double postage. May God bless you and success & prosperity attend you and yours is My Dear Ned the sincere wish of yours ever sincerely & affectionately

JOHN WORK.

Edwd. Ermatinger.

I am sure you will be glad to learn that I am in high spirits and in hopes of possessing the means in a few years of retiring in a few years to some civilized corner of the world with the pleasing anticipation of passing the few remaining years of my life free from the vexations, turmoils, privations, dangers and difficulties to which I have been so long subjected in this, to me long since unpleasing country.

Arrival of Steamer Beaver.

Peter Skein Ogden, writing from Western Caledonia, tells his friend, John McLeod, that he is very well pleased with his post, and then comments on what advantages were expected from the newly arrived "Steam Boat."

Western Caledonia, Feb'y 25th, 1837

John Mcleod, Esq'r
My dear Sir,

Your last letter from St. Maurice River dated 16th March was very acceptable for after a silence of two years I began strongly to suspect you had forgotten me and consequently last year did not write you but this will again convince you I have no inclination to drop the correspondence & if it should happen you alone will be to blame myself the greatest loser. I am truly glad to learn you are so fortunate in your present quarters. I can form a very good idea what they must be so near Town and Settlements. It must indeed be even more than opposition of former days I can assure you I do not envy you your present birth although you do occasionally pay a visit to Christians after all I would not exchange my Dry Salmon with you but as you may think it is this year we have been far more fortunate in every respect than last as our profits will exceed ten thousand Pounds last year little more than seven and if I can only manage to keep it up to ten I shall be very well pleased & so ought

all interested for independent of the opposition on the Coast the Country is not so rich as it was a few years past however it still fully repays us for our trouble & I may also add there is not a District in the Country to equal it in a word I am well pleased with my present birth. Your old quarters T River under Blacks management still does well in fact the Columbia holds out well but the Furs are obtained at a far greater expense than formerly. When at Vancouver last summer I saw our Steam Boat and made a short trip in her. She cost fifteen thousand pounds but our commerce will soon repay us at all events will have a decided advantage over our opponents again last summer they the Americans had four ships there Work Manson Kennedy & Dunn are stationed there & Finlayson is also there during the summer. It is reported I know not how true the latter crosses the mountains in the spring, amongst the many good things their honours from Frenchurch Street sent us last summer was a Clergyman and with him his wife the Rev'd. Mr. Beaver a very appropriate name for the fur trade, also Mr. & Mrs. Coppindale to conduct the Farming Establishment & by the Snake country we had an assortment of Am. Missionarys the Rev. Mr. Spaulding & Lady two Mr. Lees & Mr. Shephard surely clergymen enough when the Indian population is now so reduced but this is not all there are also five more Gent. as follows 2 in quest of Flowers 2 killing all the Birds in the Columbia & 1 in quest of rocks and stones all these bucks came with letters from the President of the U. States and you know it would not be good policy not to treat them politely they are a perfect nuisance—long ere this you would have heard of David Douglas death he fell into a Bull Pit and was gored to death—I was I can assure you happy to hear of Mr. Prudents promotion but it is said must retire from the service. I presume he will go to Red River if I can form an opinion from what I hear that Colony is not in a very flourishing state and will I presume before many years die a natural death. What think you of rotations now a days Robertson five years and others ten each the former man may consider himself very fortunate but after all I expect in many years to hear of his being a very poor man as for John Clarke he will always make a show at little expense. Our friend Archy is at Colville living at his ease with little or nothing but his Farm to attend to, Frank E. with the Flat Heads Kittson Puget Sound, Yale F. Langley, T. McKay a young man by name of McLean, his father was killed in Red River you know him, are in the Snake country—Gingras at Okanagan that place still gives 15 Packs what think you of that—Mr. Rae Umqua and the Doctor, Cowie, Douglas, McLeod, Allen & B. McKenzie at Vancouver Pambrun I had almost forgot Walla Walla now you see how all are stationed & I verily believe all exert themselves for the general interest—with my kind regards to Charlotte

Believe me yrs truly

(Signed) PETER SKEIN OGDEN.

Fight With a Clergyman.

John Work, in this gossipy letter, gives the startling information that a quarrel between Doctor John McLoughlin and Reverend Beaver reached such a point that blows were exchanged and the Beavers left for home.

Fort Simpson, 10th Sept. 1838

My Dear Edward

The Steamer is shortly to start for Nesqualley and as this is the only opportunity I shall have from this out of the way place I gladly avail myself of it to write you and to express my most sincere wishes for the health welfare and prosperity of yourself Mrs. Ermatinger and the little ones. Little in the shape of news has occurred to me since I had last the pleasure of writing you. The occurrences of the place trade etc with which we are accustomed to regale each other in this country can be of little interest to you I shall therefore not trouble you with it further than that affairs go on here as prosperously as can be well expected, and that after a good deal of more trouble from the time I wrote you I got the mutiny on board the steamer quelled and reinstated the Captain in the command which I assure you I resigned with the greatest pleasure imaginable. But I will tell you what I am sure will be more pleasing, that except being occasionally annoyed by my old complaint, I have enjoyed good health, and that the good wife and little ones are also well. I am also in good spirits, tho' some little occurrences have taken place in the way of appointments which have caused me a good deal of chagrin but not depression. But Dear Ned notwithstanding I am in good health old age the unwelcome rogue forces his company on me a great deal more than I wish. The old villain wont be put off I must therefore keep fellowship with him in spite of me. My hair is not yet become grey but it is leaving me at such a rate that I shall soon have little to change colour. My eyesight has declined so much that I can scarcely see to mend a pen with candle light, but thanks to the inventor of steel pens this is a trifling inconvenienve. I continue as thin and wizened as ever. When we used to meet I did not smoke and but rarely even join you in a pinch of snuff. Now I am a most inveterate smoker. I much regret taking to this abominable habit and have often resolved to quit it, but resolves are easier made than executed. I have not heard from Frank since I last wrote you, but I hear that he is got rid of the Flat Heads and sent to Fort Hall which if anything at all is only a degree better. Manson is promoted, which strengthens my opinion that Franks turn must soon come, but my friend we must not forget that the former is a Scotchman which in these days is no small recommendation. I have seen the Captain with whom our friend Todd went home last year, from him I was happy to learn that notwithstanding all his misfortunes, the poor fellow was still in good spirits, and had

got his unfortunate partner and child disposed of to his satisfaction, I understand he intended to pass part of the winter with you, so you know all this already.

All my hopes of getting my children educated by the parson and his better half at Vancouver, have vanished the misunderstanding between them and the doctor ran so high as to terminate in blows before they parted in consequence of which, I hear their Reverences go home. Would to God my means admitted of my quitting this wretched country of which I have so long tired, at once and that I was snugly berthed somewhere close by you to reap the invaluable benefit of your experience and good advice, but as it is I must linger on reluctantly some time yet. While I am able to add to my means I am reluctant to leave till I have enough to enable me to live out the few years I have to pass in this world and make some provision for my little ones without entirely depending entirely on what might be made by any business I might be necessitated to enter into, and for which perhaps I might be ill qualified. But be my means what it may on account of getting my children educated I must not defer clearing out long the unanswerable arguments in your last letter have made a great impression upon me. I have a brother in Richimbucto New Brunswick who lately commenced a shop, last year I advanced him some money to assist him to get on, he was but a child when I left home, but from his letters I judge him to be a sensible shrewd man and am in hopes he will do well, he is not married,—perhaps should he be successful perhaps I might get him nearer to your neighborhood to assist me in some business.

Perhaps I may go to Vancouver with the steamer but be assured not as Captain.

Please offer my best respects to Mrs. E. With most sincere good wishes I am My dear Ned

Yours ever sincerely & truly

JOHN WORK.

Edwd. Ermatinger.

American Interference in Canada.

John Work, again writing to his friend, Edward Ermatinger, described his own rugged ideas of religion, and also takes occasion to refer to the Yankees trying to interfere with Canadian affairs.

Steamer Beaver 24th October 1839

My dear Edwd.

I have had the infinite pleasure of receiving your highly valued and friendly favour dated 1st April 38 and more of seeing our friend Tod who speaks in raptures of the country where you are situated, and of the success which has attended you and above all of the high rank you have attained in the estima-

tion and respect of all the most respectable with whom you come in contact, all this is nothing more than I would have expected, for I was always sure that your honourable upright principles would not fail to command the highest respect with all to whom you should become known. Go on and prosper my friend. May the Almighty crown your endeavours with success. I deeply deplore the misfortune which befel you in the loss of your dear children, I am a father and can easily conceive how keenly you and Mrs. Ermatinger must have felt the blow, but at the same time I am gratified to find, that through Christian resignation you bore it with fortitude. Whatever my friend may be said by scoffers about Religion my friend it is our only resource in the day of misfortune, and will support us when all other resources fail. I am not speaking of mere professional religion, but of the genuine Religion of the heart which is practiced not from show, I am led to these observations from a conviction that there is too much show and parade in the Religion now practiced in the Columbia, not only at Vancouver but elsewhere. It is too puritanical, and as far as I can learn little good has hitherto resulted from it, at least there is little or no perceptible improvement in the morals of the people whether whites or blacks. On enquiring when last at Vancouver I was informed that cases of Venery in the hospital were as frequent as ever. I trust that you will not suppose that I am insensible to the blessings of Religion, on the contrary be assured that the reverse is the case, but I certainly detest hypocrisy which I consider to be the greatest enemy that can be to the Maxims of our Blessed Redeemer, but enough of this. From some recent American papers I learn that your Yankee neighbours are still endeavouring to disturb the peace of the Canadas and determined to force liberty (or what they consider such) on you whether you will or not. But it is to be hoped that their designs will be frustrated, at least they are not likely to find John Bull such a slack customer as the poor Mexicans were. Ere now I hope everything is quiet and that business is again become active and everything going on well with you. I am happy to find that Mr Dease is getting on well. Remember me to him.

I left Mrs. W. and the three youngest girls at Fort Simpson well, the two oldest ones are in the Willamet with a Mr and Mrs Lesslie, American missionaries, and I am told are improving fast particularly in English. During the last year I have been at times in but indifferent health, but at present thank God, I am well. My eyesight is much impaired and other symptoms of old age coming on more rapidly than could be wished, but these things are unavoidable and without remedy, we must be content, I have long been heartily tired of this country, and would be glad to be out of it, but still hang on in hopes of having a trifle to enable me to not be entirely dependent on other means of ending my days and some little provision for my little ones when I shall be gone. Ah! how I would have enjoyed the pleasure of being with you and our friend Tod. I am just wait-

ing for a chance of fixing my family during my absence in order to pay a visit to the civilized world, and if possible I shall give you a call and endeavour to make an arrangement to settle for good and all. My opinion regarding the Columbia colonies you already know it is not changed. I have a brother in Richimbucto who has commenced a little business a few years ago, I sent him a little assistance, he is still a bachelor, I wish he saw you, perhaps he would be induced to go up your way. Judging from his letters he is clever I have the utmost affection for him.

The result of this years proceedings, on the coast is less favourable than last year, but still pretty fair, indeed ever since I have been in this quarter affairs have gone on as prosperously as could well be expected taking everything into consideration, indeed better than there was reason to anticipate. Yet I dont expect any personal advantage from it. As usual with us it is not he who labours most who is best rewarded. I had a letter from Frank, by which it appears as usual he has an abundance of promsies but nothing else as yet has been forthcoming. I regretted at one time that he did not cross the Mountains with the Doctor, it is better that he did not, as the Governor did not come out and nothing could have been done. I am now on my way to Vancouver but write this at present, as my stay may be very short, and so much on my hands, that there will not be a moment to spare. I omit no opportunity of writing you. I cant conceive how you missed getting my letter that you did not receive. Our friend Tod is superintending a newly established farm on an extensive scale at the Cowlitz and will no doubt give you all the Columbia news,—perhaps I may be able to add a little to this when I get there, In the meantime may God bless you with every happiness & prosperity is the sincere wish of

My dear Ned

Yours ever sincerely

JOHN WORK.

Edwd. Ermatinger Esq.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Pioneer Days on Puget Sound. By Arthur A. Denny. Edited by Alice Harriman. Illustrated. (Seattle: Alice Harriman Co., 1908, 103 pp., $2.)

The appearance of a reprint of Arthur A. Denny's "Pioneer Days on Puget Sound" is an event of more than ordinary interest. The original volume was privately issued by the author in 1888 and distributed among his friends. It was printed by Mr. Clarence B. Bagley, still living in Seattle, who states that the edition was small, probably 300 copies, although he is not sure of the exact number. Whatever the number may have been, it was much depleted the following year in the great fire of 1889.

Mr. Denny, being one of the founders of the City of Seattle, and always prominently identified with its development, was in an excellent position to write of its history. This he did in the straightforward narrative of eighty-three pages, which he published under the title of "Pioneer Days on Puget Sound." Mr. Denny was a discriminating and careful observer and he aimed at scrupulous accuracy. His book is deservedly prized as an authoritative source of information upon the early history of Seattle and Puget Sound. Its intrinsic worth, the small number of copies, and the fact that it has never been on sale to the public, have all combined to make it extremely rare and difficult to obtain.

It was, accordingly, with great interest that local students of history read the announcement in the Publishers' Weekly of March 14, 1908, vol. 73, p. 1126, that "The Alice Harriman Co., of Seattle, Wash., announce for early publication the first of a series of reprints to be known as 'The Puget Sound Historical Series.' The first book to be reprinted is Arthur A. Denny's 'Pioneer Days on Puget Sound.'" The book has promptly made its appearance and it becomes a duty to compare the reprint with the original for the benefit of students who do not possess the original edition.

The first impression one gets from the new edition is very favorable. It is printed on good paper from excellent type and is well bound in neat green covers bearing an attractive design in the center of which appears the well-known portrait of the

author. It is an exceptionally well made book and reflects credit on all who had part in its production. In size, it is some three times that of the original, suggesting the addition of much new material.

The editor's preface, however, is singularly non-commital as to what has been attempted in the reprinted edition. It is not stated that any additions have been made and the reader is left to infer that the original text has been followed without change. Unfortunately, such is not the case.

Mr. Denny's simple narrative has been broken up into a dozen chapters, each with a chapter-title and a motto after the style of certain works of fiction, and all without the slightest indication that the chapter formation, titles and mottoes are not the work of the author. Further than this, paragraphs have been subdivided and even sentences have been broken and recast into new ones. Marks of punctuation have been added to suit the taste of the editor. As a sample of the extent to which this work of revision has been carried, the first paragraph of the book will serve. Mr. Denny's first paragraph has been broken into four paragraphs. His first sentence has been cut into three sentences. In spite of this cutting up process, it has required the insertion of five additional commas to make this first paragraph satisfactory to the editor.

Nor has she been content with such revision. On page 16, line 6 from the top, of the original, appears the words "very small" in italics. The reprint, p. 33, line 3 from the bottom, ignores this added emphasis, though why no reason is given. A still more serious offence is the alteration of spelling without warning or excuse. The author's Nesqually has been uniformly amended to Nisqually. Mukilshoot is changed to Muckilshoot. Lake Kichelas, p. 75, becomes Lake Kitcheles, p. 92 of the reprint. Gansevort, p. 69, is changed to Gansevoort, p. 87. In one case only has the slightest hint been given of change of spelling and in this case no change had been made. On page 92 of the reprint, an asterisk after Naches Pass, line 12 from the top, refers to a foot-note, which says, "Official spelling U. S. Board on Geographical Names." Reference to the corresponding sentence of the original, p. 75, line 3 from the top, shows that in this case no change had been made, but that the two spellings are identical. The spelling of the original is that sanctioned by the U. S. Board on Geographic Names in every case but one, namely, on p. 45, line 9 from the bottom, where it is printed Nachess Pass.

This has been corrected in the reprint and here on p. 64 evidently belongs the foot-note which is superfluous on p. 92.

As another example of lack of fidelity to the original should be noted the disappearance of the addenda slip on final page 83, which calls attention to five errors for correction. These corrections have been made in the body of the reprint, but with the editor's usual freedom from restraint. Take for example the first item of the errata requesting the substitution of Wm. Hebner for William Hefner, as printed on p. 33, line 5 from the bottom. A reference to the corresponding sentence in the reprint shows neither of these spellings, but a third one—William Heebner.

In fairness to the editor, it should be stated that there were corrections that were needed, but they should have been given in notes with authority and reason for the change. For example, two dates were erroneously given in the author's text. The first of these occurs on page 64, line 11 from the bottom, where the "21st of October, 1855," should be the 28th of October, 1855. The other one is on p. 69, line 9 from the bottom, where "January 25th, 1855," should be January 26, 1856. These errors have, in fact, been corrected in the reprint, but without one word of explanation or comment.

From start to finish, Mr. Denny's narrative has been revised as a schoolboy's composition is worked over by a conscientious teacher.. Evidently the editor has not the qualifications needed by one who would reproduce works of historic worth, but evidently she is imbued with the idea of an editor's importance. The name Harriman appears on the cover and in the book no less than eight times, exceeding in number even that of the author's name in similar positions of prominence.

What the editor wished to accomplish is not clear. The preface gives no statement as to the purpose of the reprint, but to furnish an accurate reproduction of the author's work was apparently no part of the plan. For the person who possesses the original, the new work will prove a serviceable supplementary volume. Very praiseworthy diligence has been shown in the collection of photographs, which have been copiously added to the book. Some of these are exceedingly rare and all are timely and helpful. An index, also, has been made which adds greatly to the working value of the book. Some useful information is supplied by way of foot-notes, but their value would have been greatly enhanced if the editor had thought it worth while to give authority for her statements. Opposite page 80 is a reproduction of an interesting "Sketch made by Lieut. W. S. Phelps of the

'Decatur' (afterwards Rear-Admiral of the U. S. N.), during the Indian troubles of 1855-56."

At the end of the author's text has been included without comment a list of "Chronological Notes" relating principally to the early settlement of Seattle and King County, and signed by six pioneers, fac similes of whose signatures are given. What is the meaning of these chronological notes and why are they included? The document is dated January 1, 1880, and is clearly no part of the book which it antedates by eight years. Authoritative and valuable it certainly is, and although it has been elsewhere printed (Seattle "Argus," December 21, 1901, volume 8, page 6,) it is worthy of insertion as a commentary upon the care and method exercised by Mr. Denny in safeguarding the main facts relative to the early settlement of Seattle. Facts in regard to this document, telling how and why it was prepared and placed on file, would have made an extremely interesting editorial note. Barring such facts, it loses the best part of its meaning as an addendum to this work.

Mr. C. D. Boren, the only survivor of the signers, is not now in Seattle, but from others familiar with the case it is learned that Mr. Denny's purpose, as carried out in this document, was to collect the absolutely fundamental facts pertaining to the city's earliest history and to have them accurately and precisely set down and signed by those still living who participated in the events recorded. This was in fact done, and the statement was filed away in a secure vault for no other purpose than to safeguard the history of the region covered, at least to the extent of this brief chronology. One incentive, probably, for putting the record upon paper at that time was the work of Hubert Howe Bancroft, who had visited Seattle in June, 1878, (See Bancroft, H. H., Literary Industries, 1890, page 541,) while collecting material for his history of the Pacific States.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Jefferson Davis. By Wm. E. Dodd, Ph. D. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: Geo. W. Jacobs, 1907, pp. 383.)

This life of Jefferson Davis is another evidence of the historian's growing interest in the events of our tragic Civil War after the passions of the period have largely passed away and time has made possible a more correct perspective. The clue

to Davis' early political activity is indicated by a brief sketch of Calhoun's scheme for Southern expansion, which began to take shape in the great Carolinian's mind as a result of the westward movement of the cotton planters and their slaves into the newer States of the gulf region.

When Davis first entered the House of Representatives he had not fully accepted the Calhoun Southern programme, especially in connection with internal improvements, but he did accept this programme respecting Texas and slavery expansion. A few months later he resigned his seat in Congress to take command of the Mississippi Rifles, and acted a distinguished part in the Mexican War as General Taylor's chief assistant. Davis was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate almost at once after his successful year in the Mexican War, and again took up the policy of expansion with great vigor. All of Mexico, Yucatan, the West Indies and the route for an interoceanic canal were to be annexed. During the next session he advanced to the front of the Calhoun policy, advocated a Southern Pacific railroad and a railroad across Panama. Later as Secretary of War he returned to the advocacy of a Southern Pacific railroad and internal improvements, and found for them a constitutional justification in the war powers of the constitution.

The Northern sentiment against the further extension of slavery into the Territories, which was embodied in the Wilmot Proviso, the complications in the Oregon situation, and, finally, the organization of California as a free State, spoiled the pretty picture which the Southern leaders had painted and called Clay from his retirement to urge the compromise of 1850. The alliance between the leaders of the Northwestern States and those of the new South broke down and the compromise was carried in spite of Calhoun and Davis. Davis resigned from the Senate and entered the race for the governorship of Mississippi against Henry S. Foote, the Unionist candidate, who favored acquiescence in the compromise. Davis was beaten, but soon became Secretary of War in Pierce's cabinet, and once more took up the work in behalf of Southern expansion where it had been left by Calhoun. Four years later he re-entered the Senate and "took the ground which he had always taken when his ideas of national expansion failed of realization—that of strict States' rights." (191.) When the trend of his policy brought him face to face with secession he began to hesitate and "doubted whether South Carolina ought to withdraw from the Union without as-

surance from the tier of States reaching from Charleston to New Orleans; he feared Mississippi could not wisely follow her, and he counseled delay if even one Southern State (Georgia) would not join the movement." (191.) The facts in the plot to wreck the Democratic convention of 1860 are presented in an interesting fashion.

Davis expected in 1861 to receive high military appointment in the Confederacy, but against his wish he was destined to lead the "Lost Cause" as President of the Confederacy. Prof. Dodd's treatment of the war occupies more than one-third of the book. Whoever believes that the South stood as a unit during the war will be well repaid for reading these chapters. The Confederacy clashed repeatedly with the States and Davis was hindered on every hand by the States' rights doctrinaires. The war had lasted scarcely two years when it appeared there were many in the South who would have welcomed peace. As the war went on the numbers of these increased. Prof. Dodd, it seems, is needlessly severe on some of these leaders. Davis should have understood the extreme tenderness of his States' rights followers, and might have expected opposition to military despotism. Alex H. Stephens at least had the virtue of knowing when the South was whipped, but Davis did not realize it even when Lee offered to resign command.

Prof. Dodd's purpose "simply to relate the story of that remarkable tragic life and, in so far as the limitations of time and space permit, correlate his [Davis'] career to the main current of American history" has been well done. Neither letters nor speeches are quoted at length, but are carefully summarized and connected with the thread of the story. On the whole, the book is satisfactorily done and is well worth careful reading.

EDWARD McMAHON.

NOTES.

A popular life of "Abraham Lincoln" intended to meet the needs of the English reading public has been issued in the Temple Biographies Series, published by J. M. Dent & Co., in London, and E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. The author, Henry Bryan Binns, laying no claim to special research in this field, has based his volume on the well-known works published in this country.

Henry S. Burrage has issued, through Putnam's Sons, a volume entitled "Gettysburg and Lincoln" dealing exclusively with the battle, the cemetery and the national park.

"Phillips Brooks," an abridged and condensed volume by the author of "The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks," Mr. Alex. V. G. Allen, is issued by E. P. Dutton & Co., to meet the demand for a brief and less expensive account of the great preacher, and "care has been taken to preserve everything of importance bearing on his development, and to maintain the perspective of his career."

A detailed study of the "History of Slavery in Cuba—1511 to 1868," puts us in possession of the salient features of the Spanish policy governing the slave trade in Cuba and its effects on Cuba and Spain. This convenient volume is from the press of Putnam's Sons, and the author, H. H. S. Aimes, intends to follow it by another volume dealing with the domestic slave regime. A bibliography is appended.

Two new volumes in the Harpers' "Heroes of American History Series" have appeared. "Balboa" and "Vespucci" are both from the pen of Frederick A. Ober.

"With the Border Ruffians, Memories of the Far West, 1852-68," is the story of an adventurous English lad who landed in Virginia after several years' experience at sea, and made his way to Kansas in 1855, where he acted the part of a border ruffian. Later he became a cattle-rancher in Texas and finally took part in the Civil War as a captain in the Texas Rangers. The volume purports to be the story of R. H. Williams, edited by E. W. Williams, but there is nothing in it to indicate what is by the author and what by the editor. (E. P. Dutton & Co.)

In "Pilots of the Republic" Prof. A. B. Hulbert presents a popular study of the "romance of the prioneer promoter in the Middle West." (A. C. McClurg, Chicago.) The volume deals with the experiences and hopes of such well known Western pioneers as Washington, Putnam, Geo. Rogers Clark, Henry Clay, Lewis and Clark, Astor and Marcus Whitman.

"The American Indian as a Product of Environment" (Little, Brown & Co.), is the attempt of Dr. A. J. Fynn to present in poular form the results of studies begun as a preparation for a doctor's thesis.

"The Union Cause in Kentucky," by Captain Thomas Speed, is an account of the struggles of the Union men of Kentucky to

keep that State in the Union during the Civil War, and is written by one of the actors. (Putnam's Sons.)

Haper & Brothers have issued a "Life of Charles A. Dana," written by James H. Wilson, late Major-General, U. S. V., who was associated with Dana in the field during the Civil War and under him as a bureau officer of the War Department.

To meet the demand for an up-to-date account of the Philippines, the publishing house of A. C. McClurg & Co. have issued "A Handbook of the Philippines," by Hamilton M. Wright. The book contains three maps (one showing in colors the religious distributions), and one hundred and fifty illustrations from photographs. The peoples of the Philippines, together with their manners, customs, dress and houses are discussed briefly. Then follows a chapter on law and government and several on agriculture and industry. The final chapters deal with the ideals of the Filipino, Christianity and commerce.

In the "First Forty Years of Washington Society" (Scribners) we have some new light on Washington life between 1800 and 1841. The basis of the book is a large collection of the letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard), which are edited by Gaillard Hunt.

Two volumes in the monumental work dealing with "The History of the Society of Jesus in North America," which Father Thos. Hughes, S. J., is editing for the Burrows Company, are published.

In "The Makers of Canada" series, Morang & Co., of Toronto, have issued two additional volumes. "Sir John A. Macdonald" is the title of the book in which Geo. R. Parkin recounts the events in the life of Canada's first premier; in the other John Lewis tells of the work of "George Brown," a newspaperman and politician, who did effective work for Canadian union.

NEWS DEPARTMENT.

New History of the State of Washington.

A four-volume history of the State of Washington is being prepared by The Century History Company, of New York, of which E. O. Wilson is the moving spirit in this State. The editor of the work is Clinton A. Snowden, of Tacoma. The associate editors are Judge Cornelius H. Hanford, of Seattle; William A. Tyler, of Tacoma, and former Governor Miles C. Moore, of Walla Walla. The work is being sold by subscription at the price of $25 for the entire work, even if it should be found necessary to put out more than the four volumes promised. Mr. Snowden's long association with newspaper work in this State has given him a good equipment for the undertaking. The history promises to be a valuable addition to the literature of the Pacific Northwest.

A Massacre on the Frontier.

The article on this subject was written by Major Joel Graham, of the United States Army. It was copied and forwarded to the Quarterly by Will J. Trimble, instructor of history in the High School of Spokane.

Professor Bourne's Death.

The death on February 24th, 1908, at New Haven of Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne, of Yale University, is worthy of more than passing notice by the readers of history in the Pacific Northwest because of his special interest in the history of Oregon acquisition, his valuable contributions upon that subject, and the general acceptance of his conclusions by the members of the American Historical Association. The thoroughness of his research and the systematic arrangement of his material the writer of this brief notice is able to vouch for by reason of having been given personal access thereto. That his conclusions were carried into controversy was of course inevitable, but quite

against his preference or desire and participation; for he himself was by early training and later choice a faithful member of the Congregational Church and supporter of missionary enterprises, and his contributions were solely in the interest of the truth of history.

Professor Bourne was born in Strykersville, N. Y., on June 24th, 1860. He entered and was graduated at Yale with the class of 1883, devoting special attention to history during his course. Soon after graduation he was made instructor in history at Yale, and after two years resigned to take a similar position at Adelbert College, in Cleveland, Ohio, where in 1890 he became a full professor of history. In 1895 a new chair of history was established at Yale, to which Professor Bourne was chosen, and which he retained until his death.

Professor Bourne's best known book is perhaps the "Spain in America" of the American Nation Series, published in 1904. Earlier than that he wrote "The Life of J. L. Motley," "Historical Introduction to the Philippine Islands," "Essays in Historical Criticism" and "History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837." The greater part of his work, perhaps, was in the editing of a number of books, among them "The Voyages of Champlain," "The Narrative of De Soto," "Rocher's Spanish Colonial System," "The Chase Papers" and Fournier's "Napoleon I." He was a co-editor of the "Yale Review" and a frequent contributor to the American Historical Quarterly, in which during 1906 appeared a brief but valuable criticism of the career of Jonathan Carver, to whom has been given the honor of the first use of the name "Oregon" in literature. Professor Bourne indicated that in all probability this was merely a copy from some earlier manuscripts of French explorers. The mutability of memory and the importance of following contemporary writings and records, as against the later recollections of man or woman, were given prominence in both the teaching and writings of Professor Bourne; in other words, the need of relying upon scientic study of history for any final conclusions.

As a member of the American Historical Association Professor Bourne was connected with its more important committees and enjoyed a wide acquaintance. He was considered one of its most valuable members and promoters. In the summer of 1905 he accepted an invitation to be present at the historical conference held at Portland, Oregon, in connection with the Lewis and Clark Exposition, and delivered one of the prominent

addresses at that gathering. He was afterward made an honorary member of the Oregon Historical Society.

The immediate cause of his death was an operation connected with a disease of the hip.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

The Possibilities of South American History and Politics as a Field for Research.

With the above title, a paper was read before the American Political Science Association at its annual meeting on December 28, 1907, by Dr. Hiram Bingham, of Yale University. The paper was published in the Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of American Republics for February, 1908, "in accordance with that bureau's present policy of advancing the mutual literary interests of North and South America." The material in the paper is based on a card catalogue of South America on which Dr. Bingham has been engaged at intervals for seven years. The material available for such research work is discussed in a scholarly manner, and the writer concludes as follows: "And so this list might be prolonged, but perhaps enough has been said to show that there is far more material available in this country for South American research than is generally supposed, and that the opportunity for scholarly work in the field of South American history and politics is an uncommonly good one."

Inland Empire Historical Society.

The Inland Empire Historical Society held its annual meeting at Pullman, Washington, on April 7th in connection with the Teachers' Institute of three or more counties of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. Professor W. D. Lyman, of Whitman College, presided over the sessions, and by way of annual address read one of the chapters of his forthcoming book on the "History of the Columbia River" in the Historic Waterways Series. Mr. T. R. Tannatt, of Spokane, gave an address upon the "Early Transportation in the Inland Empire," and Professor Will J. Trimble, of the Spokane High School, read a paper upon "Relations Between the History and the Physiography of the Inland Empire." Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, read a brief paper upon the "Early History of Walla Walla

County." The feature of the meeting was the address in the evening by Mr. Clark Prescott Bissett, of Seattle, upon "Abraham Lincoln," which was listened to with deep attention by a large audience comprising largely the visiting teachers. The officers of the society for the coming year are Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, President, and Mr. F. F. Nalder, of the State College, Pullman, Secretary and Treasurer, and an Executive Committee yet to be named. The object of this organization is to arouse interest in local history research through local clubs or sections in the counties and cities of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. It was organized in Spokane two years ago. The present meeting was under the arrangement of Professor W. B. Beach, of the Washington State College.

Albert Bushnell Hart.

This well known author of works on American history has reached another Sabbatical year in his long career as a member of the faculty at Harvard and will devote that year to a tour of the world with his family, leaving Seattle for the Orient early in August. He will give a course of thirty lectures on "American Diplomacy" in the University of Washington Summer School just before sailing for Japan. Next winter Professor Hart will be promoted from the vice-presidency to the presidency of the American Historical Association. This is the highest honor of the kind attainable in America.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

By George Wilkes.

[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the United States Title.

[Continued from Last Quarterly.]

Because the immense revenues arising out of it, and the wide domain accompanying the grant, (Whitney's memorial asks for a strip of public land 60 miles in width, from Lake Michigan to the Western ocean,) would create a monopoly liable to the most dangerous abuses. From the great number of its employees, the numerous settlers upon its lands, most of whom it would be able to coerce, and its enormous wealth, it would grow into a stupendous power, which, if not capable of rivalling the Government itself, might at any rate, exercise such a control by these combined influences over its representation in Congress, as would place our dearest privileges at its disposal. As a protection, on the other hand, against a perversion of its patronage by the Government, we should have to rely on the honor, the purity, and patriotism of our Presidents; a guarantee somewhat more substantial, it must be admitted, than the cupidity of individuals.

Because, the object of a Democracy, while it secures to Enterprise and Talent, their rewards, is to equalise the benefits of heaven to all, and the act which would avowedly confer special facilities for the amassment of enormous wealth on any body of men, is in derogation of its own comprehensive scheme. A bounteous Providence has made the productions of the earth equal to the wants of all its creatures, and it is a demonstrable rule that every usurpation of an excess is followed in some quarter by a corresponding loss. This tendency, through the peculiar construction of society, cannot be helped at present, nor can it be corrected in a day, but it is incumbent upon us, whom

a wise director has delegated to work out a system for the elevation of mankind, to interpose no obstacle to its consummation, by specially encouraging an infraction of the plan.

The first results of a private grant of the nature of the one proposed to the last Congress, would doubtless be as follows: As soon as the route had been surveyed, maps would be prepared, dividing the whole into sections for sale. Then a formal, and ostentatious opening of the road would follow. A vast collection of people would gather together to see the show, and amid the thunder of cannon, the waving of colours, and the swell of martial music, some public spirited gentleman would strike a spade into the ground while the wild huzzas of the admiring multitude would make the welkin ache again.

This herculean effort over, the company, after staving in the heads of a few barrels of beer to whet the whistles of the crowd, would retire to a sumptuous dinner to devise plans anew, and to felicitate themselves over the vast advantages they had cozened from the Government.* From that time out, their attention would be devoted entirely to land speculations. The maps would be industriously circulated, and adopting to their use the science of puffing, newspapers would teem with glowing representations to attract the attention of purchasers. The domain parcelled out by the company, would be described, on account of its facilities for transferring the produce of its fertility from ocean to ocean, as the golden belt of the continent. Speculators would rush to make investments off their capital and undeterred by the exorbitant advance from day to day in price, the poor man would hasten with the tribute of his hard won gains to cast a golden anchor in the future. After this course of things had been pursued long enough to swell the pockets of the company with a plethera of millions, we should have no stronger guarantee than what exists in the fallability of man that the work ever would be prosecuted. The whole result would be, that the company who had simply assumed for a time the United States ownership of the public lands (for none but the sixty mile strip would sell during this delusion) would good naturedly pocket The People's money till they fell off from very surfeit; and then, declaring themselves incapable, for want of means, of carrying out the objects of the grant, they would either sell out their privileges to others, or Government, impelled by the complaints of distresses of those who had been their victims, would have to complete the object after all herself.

But supposing their intentions to be sincere and their measures for the immediate commencement of the work earnest, there is yet another consideration against it outweighing all the rest. As soon as the grant was made, plans would be drawn out, and one of the directors despatched to London (as in the present case of Don Jose de Garay in relation to the ship canal through

* It must be borne in mind that these observations, though based on the provisions of Whitney's proposal, are merely suppositive against its theory, and are by no means meant as an imputation of his intentions, or a reflection on his character.

the Isthmus of Tehuantepec) to solicit the aid of British capitalists to sustain the work. Its importance would at once strike all, and perhaps attract the attention of the British government itself, and under the direction of her wily minister, funds might be placed in private hands for purchases of stock. At any rate, there can be but little doubt that the stock would all rapidly be taken up, and the result would be, that British stockholders, and perhaps the British government itself, would control the whole enterprise. It at any rate would afford her a pretext for interference on the score of protecting the property of her subjects. This principle has already been vociferously claimed for her by many of the creditors of our non-paying states, and the probability is, that in a matter of such vital import to her as this, it would ripen into a governmental assumption. In short, the necessary consequence of any private company must be, the introduction into our very bosom a foreign influence that will pierce our continent from shore to shore, and, in a double sense, divide our happy land.

Lastly, it should be national, because its vast revenues would not only enable the Government, after paying off the cost, to relieve the country of the burden of almost every tax, whether impost or otherwise, but afford a surplus, which might be expended to advantage in the gradual increase of the navy, and in strengthening our seaboard and harbor defences to a state amounting to impregnability.

Having settled the feasibility of the work, both as to geographical facility and as to means of defraying the cost, the next thing to be considered is the **time** necessary for its completion; and though our arrangement brings this third in order, it is altogether first in importance.

The **time** allowed for its completion should be limited to **five years**, in which period it could as easily be accomplished by the energies of our government, as it could in twenty-five!

If 20,000 men* can complete 500 miles a year, there is no good reason why the result should be delayed to bestow the monopoly of the labor on 5000 who can only perform 125 miles in the same time.

Our country is as capable of a great effort as a mean one, and we have a right to expect one worthy of her genius and character. We repeat that **time** is the great object! A series of rapidly developing political events prove that the antagonistic principles of liberty and feudalism are fast approaching their final struggle. Alarmed at our astonishing progress, the monarchial governments of Europe are preparing to bring their centralized force to bear upon the genius of Republicanism, and when the collision takes place, we, as the grand promoter and defender of the latter, will have to sustain the whole brunt of the shock. Let us, therefore, arm ourselves against the crisis in time! Let

* This number is not offered as a portion of the rule for the accomplishment of the work within the specified time. If, however, a larger number of workmen than the above could be obtained and paid, and the work completed in a still less time than five years, so much the better for every interest concerned.

us extend our communications across our country's length and breadth; secure the possession of the points that will enable us to protect the interests of our commerce in both oceans and the East, and assume a position worthy of the champion of the world's emancipation.

As many men should be employed upon the work as is possible to be obtained, even if the number ran up to 20,000, or should go even beyond that. This would furnish employment to all the languishing labor of the great cities, and force, by the gradual progress of the road, an immense mechanical and laboring population into Oregon. This result would of itself peaceably settle our title against the world, and obviate entirely any necessity of further negotiation or force. These artizans and laborers having long been in the receipt of wages which they have been obliged to hoard, would, by the time they arrived in that distant territory, be possessed of a handsome competence, and taking advantage of the government bounty to settlers, become at once substantial landed proprietors, whose patriotism and obedience to the laws, would be securely guaranteed by their interest in the soil. Our government in exchange for its eastern substratum of suffering population, would find its broad and fertile western territories sprinkled with hamlets, and owning a class of intelligent and happy husbandmen, who would be the chief pride, boast, and dependence of the country.

These settlements would be formed, in great part, by the artizans and workers on the road, who having built temporary habitations for themselves and families in the neighborhood of their work, and foreseeing that for years to come they would reap a rich harvest for their agricultural labors in the wants of the immense army of pioneers who had gone before, and afterward in the markets of the Pacific, would yield to the love for a stationary home and the dignity of independent ownership, by settling permanently in every fertile portion of the road-side. The places of those who thus dropped out of the line would be supplied by the new emigrant, whom the increased price of labor in our Atlantic cities would have enticed to our shores, and thus the generous spirit of the enterprise would go on, redeeming man after man from the abasement of ill-requited servitude into the majesty and perfection of human nature—lord of the land, and with no master but his God.

The price of labor in our great cities would be progressive from the commencement of the work to its completion; and thus would be drawn from capitalists a portion of their hoards for its beneficial diffusion throughout all classes of the community. The rights of labor would be vindicated by the enforcement of a more equal division of its returns between it and its mercantile deputies, and a great step would be taken towards elevating it to its true importance in the social scale. The annual drain of population to the interior, and the new direction to be given to it south, would at the same time reduce landed property nearer to its true level, and modify that last remnant of feudalism, the

landlord's power, into a bearable evil. These two influences combined, will do more at a stroke to elevate the condition of the mases, to check the fatal tendency to a division of interests and distinction of castes as in the old world; to divide the national domain among the people, and thus consummate the original scheme of the creation, than all the agrarian laws, social chimeras, and visionary legislation could in centuries!

Here we bring our inquiry to a close. We have, in the first place, made a satisfactory examination of our title to Oregon; in the second, proved the capabilities of that region for supporting a numerous population; in the third, examined the facilities which are offered for easy communication between it and the States, and in the fourth, we have established the perfect practicability of a railroad to and through it, and following out the examination of this feature of our subject, we have glanced at the most obvious of the advantages that will be accomplished through its agency. In conclusion, we repeat that the earliest practicable time should be adopted to carry out the design. While France and Mexico mediate the segregation of the continent, and while England is despatching another squadron to the Artic sea, we certainly are called upon to inquire at least, by an actual survey, whether we have not within the bosom of our own territories superior facilities for accomplishing the same grand purpose which impels them. The immediate commencement of the work itself, would not conflict with any treaty stipulation, nor could it justly give umbrage to any other power, and in addition to affording a pledge to The People of the sincerity of the Government's intentions towards Oregon, the actual prosecution of the measure would defeat the British jugglers in their design of circumventing our rights by protracted negotiation.

Let them negotiate and let us work, and while they are mousing through the pages of Bynckershoeck and Puffendorff in cabinet caucauses, and solemn diplomatists are exchanging assurances of profound consideration, thousands of our hardy citizens will keep pouring through the gaps of the Rocky mountains, and at the conclusion of the grave dispute, be smoking their pipes in every fertile nook in Oregon.

The railroad is the Great Negotiator, which alone can settle our title more conclusively than all the diplomatists in the world.

Aside from the consideration of national aggrandisement, this project is warranted as a measure of political economy which makes its appeal directly to the heart of every philanthropist. It would be a benefaction to the oppressed masses that would come with a peculiar grace from a parental government to its suffering children, and in addition to its being a measure for their gradual elevation and relief, it would also be an evidence that among all the chartered privileges lavished time and again upon the rich, the government could find it in its heart to make at least one charter for the poor.

Lastly, if the magnetic telegraph should be added to this comprehensive scheme, where shall calculation look for the limits of

its vast results? Basing our conclusions upon our wonderful advance in the present century, it is no extravagance to predict that in less than fifty years we shall behold in our beloved country a government, holding the preponderance of power, owning a population of a hundred millions, with a central capital in the great valley of the Mississippi, commanding from its nucleus of power an electric communication over three millions of square miles, and diffusing its congregated science, art, philosophy, enterprise and intelligence; its enlarged spirit of liberty, philanthrophy, peace and good will, to the uttermost ends of the earth in a fullness that will realize at last the fondest dreams of the millenium!

Arouse, then, America, and obey the mandate which Destiny has imposed upon you for the redemption of a world! Send forth upon its mighty errand the spirit of enfranchised man; nor let it pause until it bears down every barrier of unrighteous power; till it enlarges the boundaries of freedom to the last meridian, and spreads its generous influence from pole to pole!

[End of Chapter I., History of Oregon.]

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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MARKING THE WASHINGTON-IDAHO BOUNDARY.

Until 1863 the State of Idaho formed a portion of what was then known as Oregon. During that year the Territory of Idaho was organized by act of Congress by segregating a portion of the territories of Washington, Nevada, Nebraska and the State of Oregon. The following year the new Territory of Idaho lost a portion of its original area to form the new Territory of Montana. The boundaries of Idaho as organized were partly natural; that is, formed by rivers or mountain chains, and partly artificial, or parallels of latitude or meridians of longitude. The latter never having been indicated by markings on the earth's surface, controversies frequently arose as to the jurisdiction of the courts in the various territories contagious to Idaho. For the purposes of taxation and the settlement of disputed matters before the courts, it became important that a demarkation of Idaho's artificial boundaries should be made. Accordingly, in 1873, Congress made an appropriation of $10,800 to establish the western boundary of Idaho, or that portion lying east of the Territory of Washington not already established by nature. The Secretary of the Interior was directed to definitely mark on the earth's surface by conspicuous monuments accurately, established, this portion of Idaho's boundary. To execute this work, the then Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, appointed the writer, then a resident of Olympia, Washington Territory. I was instructed to begin at the intersection of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers, as said intersection existed at the time of the organic act in 1863, and to mark a line on the earth's surface from that initial point running due north to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, this being the boundary between British possessions and the United States; to establish an iron monument at the initial point, and, at the end of every mile, a post

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seven feet long, and six inches square, imbedded in the earth three feet, with a mound three feet high at the base of the post, and two pits, two feet long, one foot wide and two feet deep, one on the east and one on the west side of each post. The posts were to be marked by cutting into the post not less than one quarter of an inch deep, as follows: on the east side, the word "Idaho," on the west side "Washington," on the north "1873," and on the south, the distance in miles from the initial point. I was instructed to measure the distance twice by chaining and to verify the measurements by astronomical observations, determining the latitude within three seconds of arc for each parallel of latitude at the even degrees; also, to make observations on Polaris when it crossed the meridian or at its eastern or western elongation, every clear night, to correct the alignment.

The party organized to perform this work proceeded to Lewiston, Idaho, during the summer of 1873. It consisted, besides myself as officer in charge, of an astronomer, two transit men, a leveler, four chainmen, four moundbuilders and axemen, two cooks and three packers. One of the most difficult problems in the execution of this survey was the termination of the junction of two rivers, as said junction existed ten years prior to the location of the survey. The Snake River is a rapid stream, flowing about ten miles per hour through alluvial soil with shifting channels and changing shores. The Clearwater is a smaller stream, with similar banks and bed, and they formed a junction just below the peninsula upon which the town of Lewiston, Idaho, is built. The party spent nearly two weeks in the vicinity of Lewiston determining this initial point. Once decided upon, it was impracticable to plant a visible iron monument at the junction of the two rivers, so the monument was erected on the north bank of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers above high-water mark and has remained a permanent landmark from that day to this. The survey was made with much care and deliberation, the chaining being verified by the astronomical tests, and wherever a discrepancy was found, either in measurements or in alignment, the line was re-established repeatedly until a satisfactory result was obtained. At that date the country was sparsely settled, only a few frontiersmen having taken up claims near the Washington-Idaho boundary, between Lewiston and the British boundary. No white man not a member of the surveying party, except two trappers, was seen after leaving Cowley's Bridge on the Spokane River until its return from the completion of the survey. In crossing the Pend Oreille River there was a delay of three days

in making rafts upon which the instruments, provisions and camp equipage were crossed. There were forty-five horses used in transportation. Of this number thirty were pack horses and the balance saddle horses. These animals were driven into the river and crossed by swimming, the men crossing on the rafts. Where the line intersects the Pend Oreille River it crosses two islands. Upon one of these islands were two trappers who were astonished at the appearance of the surveyors, and the surprise was reciprocal, much information being obtained from both parties as to the character of the surrounding country, its water, timber and grazing facilities being inquired into by the surveying party.

When within about fifteen miles of the end of the line, the country from the Spokane River north having been heavily timbered, mountainous and rocky and progress with the work slow and laborious, it was found that the provisions had all been consumed except several sacks of flour. This flour was divided into equal parts and given pro rata to the members of the party. On the summit of Old Baldy Mountain, fifteen miles south of the terminal point, all of the live stock, the packers and the cooks were left in camp and the others took their blankets on their backs and their ration of flour and started to complete the last fifteen miles of the boundary line. It required five days to blaze and mark this line through the heavy timber. When the forty-ninth parallel was reached by chaining, and the test made by latitude observations confirming the correctness of the chaining, it was confidently expected that a well-defined boundary between British Columbia and the United States would be intersected at this point. The instructions from the Washington authorities stated that said international boundary had been carefully established by a joint commission of British and American engineers, that the timber had been razed to the earth's surface and that a strip of open country, sixty feet wide, would be found marking the forty-ninth parallel. The party was greatly surprised, embarrassed and puzzled to find no indications whatever of any white man having ever been in the vicinity of this parallel.

After spending two days in a vain search for some evidence of the international boundary the party made its permanent location of the forty-ninth parallel and started on its weary return to Old Baldy Mountain. Their flour was now exhausted and they returned in an almost famished condition. Fortunately the packers and cooks had killed a moose in the absence of the field party and some dried peas were found from which coffee was made and some dried salmon was obtained from the Indians,

and upon this diet the party managed to get back to Cowley's Bridge where a supply of provisions was bought and the party continued its homeward march, disbanding at Lewiston, Idaho, in the winter of '73 and '74.

I returned directly to Olympia by way of Walla Walla and Portland and made a brief report to the Secretary of the Interior of the progress of the work, stating the conditions found at the terminal point, where no evidences of an international boundary could be found, and asked for further instructions. In those days it required two weeks for a letter to reach Washington, D. C., from Olympia. In about six weeks I received a letter from the Department advising me that a search of the report of the international boundary survey on file in the State Department disclosed the fact that for a distance of about twenty miles east and thirty miles west of the point where the Washington-Idaho boundary terminated the international line had not been established because of the extreme roughness of the topography and the belief among the engineers of the two governments that the land was too worthless to ever be settled by white men. The Commission had omitted to establish this part of the line and resumed their work at a point some twenty miles east and running thence along the forty-ninth parallel to the Lake of the Woods. The receipt of the information that the international boundary line had not been established where it should be intersected by the Washington-Idaho boundary was a great relief of the suspense which I had suffered because of the positive instructions to close my line upon the well-marked international boundary supposed to have been established with great care by engineers of national fame. I immediately began the preparation of an elaborate report from the data obtained in the field and consumed the remainder of the winter in completing the report, maps and other details required by my instructions. A report of the survey is given briefly in the annual report of the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1874.

While there has been some discussion among the residents and particularly in newspapers of the two Territories contiguous to this boundary, as to the correctness of its location, and various schemes have been proposed by which the line might be moved farther east or farther west, no evidence as to its incorrect establishment has been submitted to the Department of sufficient value to cause a re-survey. The old line is now being remarked by more permanent monuments and the demarkation as established in 1873 will probably never be changed. Some fifteen or twenty

years ago a bill was passed by Congress providing for the annexation of the four northern counties of Idaho to Washington, but President Cleveland withheld his signature and the measure failed. For the first ninety miles the boundary runs through an agricultural region, a portion of which, the so-called Palouse Country, is the richest farming section of the State of Washington. The last fifty miles, or from the Spokane River north to the terminus, the boundary runs through an extremely rough country, being heavily timbered, mountainous, rocky and covered with down timber and heavy underbrush.

In the personnel of the party were several men who have since become well known and prominent in their respective localities. Hon. E. L. Smith, of Hood River, Oregon, has been Speaker of the Oregon Legislature and has been frequently mentioned as a candidate for Governor of Oregon. The late W. Byron Daniels was for several terms Mayor of Vancouver, Washington, and a member of the State Legislature, as well as a leading attorney in his home town. A. Reeves Ayres has been Clerk or Deputy Clerk of the United States Court for a quarter of a century. Mr. Dysart, of Ellensburg, is a prominent farmer in his own section. These were all members of the surveying party. The astronomer, Denison, has been a professor in the Engineering Department of the University of Michigan continuously for nearly forty years. The man originally engaged for that work was Dr. Mark W. Harrington, late president of the University of Washington and a classmate of mine, but after engaging for this work he was offered a more tempting field by Professor Dall in his survey of the Aleutian Islands, and I obtained the services of Professor Denison as his substitute in the Washington-Idaho boundary work.

ROLLIN J. REEVES.

HISTORY OF SAN JUAN ISLAND.

[Charles McKay, the author of this article, was born in Nova Scotia, September, 1831. He came to the Pacific Coast in 1855, was attracted by the Fraser River gold excitement of 1858 and is now the only living survivor of the San Juan Island colony of Americans of the eventful year of 1859. He and his family enjoy the respect of the community at Friday Harbor, as well as of the other present settlements of the San Juan Islands. Though beyond the Biblical three score and ten years, he still enjoys the strenuous life of a successful village blacksmith.—Editor.]

W. D. Oakes and I, returning from the Fraser River mining excitement, arrived in Victoria, B. C., on our way back to California. There we got acquainted with some hunters and they told us about San Juan Island. They told us what a fine island it was, full of game. So we went there to see it. There appeared to be a lodestone on the island, for we got stuck there at once.

We found the Hudson Bay Company had a station on the island. They had 2,000 head of sheep and cattle and horses. There was also an American Customs Inspector by the name of Hubbs.

We took up farms and soon there came a number of other American citizens to the island. All took up farms, and among them there was a man by the name of Cutler who took a farm. This was in June, 1859, and we prepared to celebrate the Fourth of July. We hoisted a fine flagpole and got a large American flag, and on the Fourth we hoisted our flag and we had a glorious time. There were fourten of us and we passed a resolution that each one of us had to make a speech. There was a Welshman in the number. When it came to his turn to speak he said we should not only be independent of Great Britain, but we should have a government of our own on such a beautiful island as this was. So we kept up our flag for four days. And there came a man-of-war steamer up in the Straits, and there was the commander of the Pacific Coast on board, by the name of Harney, a large man and very firm. He spied our flag with his glass, but was so far away he was not sure that it was an American flag. So he said to the Captain:

"Take this glass and see if you can tell if that is an American flag."

So the Captain took the glass and said that it was the Hudson Bay Company's flag, when the General said: "Give me the glass." After looking some time he said:

"Don't you know your own country's flag? Put the steamer in to the island till I see what this flag means."

It was the first American flag ever hoisted on the island. So the General landed. Seeing such a strange thing as a man-of-war coming into our harbor, we all went to see him land. So he said:

"Are you Americans?"

"Yes."

"Is that your flag?"

"Yes."

"What are you doing here?"

So we told him. When we found out who he was we commenced to lay our complaints to him against the Hudson Bay Company and the Indians. We asked him if he would send us a company of soldiers to protect us from the Hudson Bay Company's threats to take us prisoners. They had sent a gunboat to take one of our men to Victoria, and we told him all about the hog scrape which I will give you later. The General said:

"If you will send me a petition with twenty-five signers I will send you a company of soldiers."

He left and went straight to Bellingham, and there was one company there. He commanded Captain Pickett to move at once to San Juan with his command, and when Pickett landed with his sixty soldiers and the outfit, the Hudson Bay Company's manager sent to Victoria to Governor Douglas and told the story. So Governor Douglas sent a man-of-war to Pickett's camp and turned his vessel broadside on the camp and ran out his guns toward the camp, and sent an officer to Pickett and ordered Pickett to prepare to leave the island at once.

Pickett sent back word that he was sent here to protect American citizens by his commander-in-chief, and if the man-of-war would land every man on this island he would fire on them as long as he had a man left.

So the English officer got Pickett's answer and they pulled in their guns and went to Victoria. Captain Pickett sent a rowboat to Steilacoom where the commander-in-chief stayed until he heard from the result of the landing by Pickett. So they told the story to Harney, commander-in-chief, who commanded all the troops in this region to go at once to San Juan Island. Eight companies of soldiers landed on a foggy morning on the south side of the island. Then the man-of-war went into the harbor with fifteen guns and all the baggage. There they found three English men-of-war in the harbor. They commenced to land their guns. Then the fun commenced. They landed fifteen guns and had 800 soldiers working day and night heaving up earth fortifications, and when the news came to Victoria there were 1,000 miners ready to take Victoria when they heard the first gun fired.

All the banks in Victoria took all their money and put it on board the men-of-war.

The Governor of Victoria ordered the men-of-war to go and drive the Americans off the island, but the English Admiral was not there, so the fleet would not obey the Governor till he came. So when he came he told the Governor that he did not know the Americans as he did. They are like mosquitoes, kill one and there will be a thousand to take his place. The Admiral said:

"I will tell you what we will do. I would rather shed tears than shed one drop of blood. Governor, we will leave this to our government. If they order me to fire on those Americans I will obey, but not till then."

While this was going on we sent an express across the plains, which took one month to reach our government, and our government sent out Commander-in-Chief Winfield Scott with instructions to not land on any English soil and to make peace if he could. So he landed at Port Angeles and communicated with Governor Douglas. After a long time of communication, Scott was firm and finally made a treaty that each government could plant one company of soldiers on the disputed territory, and that each should rule their own people, and we remained under such rule for seventeen years. There never was a monarch in the world that had more power than they. The English Captain defied the English Custom House, seized a boat and would not return her to the English Custom House, so the Custom House petitioned Queen Victoria and had him removed. I have the first dispatch that ever went to San Francisco, which cost me $45, and I had the American Captain removed.

Then we had peace and had lots of fun. The English company would invite the American soldiers to their camp and have great feasts. Then the American soldiers would invite the English soldiers to their camp and thought they would outdo them in feasting. So they filled the Englishmen with all that could be furnished until they knew they could not eat any more. Then they cleared off the tables and the waiters came in with piles of plates in their arms, and the Englishmen asked:

"What are you going to do?"

"We are going to serve the balance of our feast."

"Bloody my eyes! We can't eat any more."

"Well, if you can't eat any more the waiters will carry away the dishes."

The writer was invited to that feast and knew of the trick. There was not another thing to put on the table, but the bluff worked well.

I said I would tell you about the hog scrape that nearly caused a war between two great nations. The man by the name of Cutler had a farm with a small garden of potatoes. While we had to go forty miles across the Straits in a rowboat, you will see that potatoes were potatoes. This Cutler potato patch was growing fine. One day a hog belonging to the Hudson Bay Company broke into Cutler's potato patch. Cutler went to the Company's agent and told him if he did not take care of this hog he would kill him. The hog came and rooted all the potatoes. When Cutler came home the hog was still in his garden. He got his gun and shot the pig. Then he went to the Hudson Bay agent and offered to pay for the hog, but the agent refused to take pay and said he would send for the gunboat and have him arrested and taken to Victoria. The gunboat came to arrest him and I had to plead with Cutler to hide, for I knew that Cutler was a good shot and was going to kill all that would come to arrest him. If there was any shooting to be done we all had to take a hand in it, for we could kill all that could come, for we were all fine riflemen. We could hit a 10-cent mark at 100 yards. So you see it was not fear that caused me to coax Cutler to hide, but I did not want those men killed. So finally Cutler took my advice and when they came to arrest Cutler they could not find him. That saved bloodshed. This is the story we told General Harney when we got the soldiers.

In the course of seventeen years the Emperor of Germany decided, as arbitrator, in favor of the United States government, and the dispute over San Juan Island was settled.

The writer is now seventy-seven years of age and is enjoying the fruits of running the risk of losing his life while opening up this country and is the only one of the first settlers now left alive. He can do more work than the general average of young men. He helped to build the first Presbyterian church in this great State of Washington and was an elder in that church for twenty-two years. Twelve years ago I found a religion, a church that paid me a dividend at once by keeping me in good health. I am able to work when I wish as easy as when I was a young man. I have been in the best of health since I made this discovery and am happier than ever before in my lifetime. I would advise my fellow brothers and sisters to set all old prejudice aside and investigate Christian Science, which will teach you to be happy, healthy and prosperous, with good will toward all.

CHARLES McKAY.

Friday Harbor, June 29, 1908.

THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

During our late war with Spain we heard much about the moribund condition of the Latin race and the power and future destiny of the Anglo-Saxons, by the later being meant the people of Great Britain and the United States. It is questionable whether the term Anglo-Saxon can be used with propriety in that sense now. It may be applied to the people of England proper, particularly of southeastern England, but not to the people of the United States. Out of our population of 76,000,000 we had in 1900 nearly 9,000,000 negroes, about 8,500,000 foreigners not of English or Scotch descent, and about 13,000,000 natives with one or both parents foreign-born and not of English or Scotch descent. If to these be aded all the other natives whose ancestors were of other than English or Scotch descent, we shall have a number equal to considerably more than half of our entire population. To call ourselves Anglo-Saxons is therefore manifestly wrong and misleading, at least in a numerical sense. The only race-name that we could properly apply to ourselves is the name Teutonic, for I think we are, and shall long continue to be, chiefly Teutonic in race; that is to say, I think the people of English, Dutch, German and Scandinavian immigration or descent constitute, and will long constitute, more than half of the American people. But the name Teutonic cannot be appropriated by us or by the English, for the Dutch, Germans and Scandinavians can claim it with equal right. So there is no race name that we can adopt that will apply to us distinctively or to us and the English conjointly. Perhaps American for ourselves and Anglo-American for us and the English are the best designations we can find, if we usurp the right to use the name American. Anglo-Saxon is out of the question.

But the particular subject of this article is the making of the English people.

The English people are a mixture of the Teutons and Celts that met in Britain in consequence of the Anglo-Saxon and later conquests of that country. The British Islands in the time of Julius Caesar—and we have no sure knowledge of them from an earlier time—were inhabited by the Celtic race, as were also Gaul and other parts of the European continent. The southern part of the island of Great Britain, as far north as the Scotch high-

lands, was called by the Romans Britannia, and the northern Caledonia, and the people were called respectively Britons and Caledonians, or Picts. Ireland was called Hibernia, from the sixth to the thirteenth century also Scotia, and its inhabitants were called Scots. All these people were Celtic, but are divided by writers on the subject into two main divisions, the Brythons, or Cymry, in the south of the main island, and the Gaels in the north and in Hibernia and the Isle of Man.

The first conquest of Britain was made by the Romans. Julius Caesar made an unsuccessful attempt to gain a foothold in the summer of the year 55 B. C. and again the following year. The real conquest began in the reign of Claudius (A. D. 43) and ended in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 84). It extended northward to the highlands of Caledonia, where Agricola built a line of forts across the country from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, known as the Wall of Antonine and later as Graham's Dyke. In the second century a fortified wall, known as Hadrian's Wall and later as the Wall of Severus, was built farther south, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Firth, or from Newcastle to Carlisle, some distance south of the later boundary between England and Scotland. The Roman province of Britain, then, corresponded to present England and Wales; for the northern part, between the two walls, was often overrun by the Picts, and the Romans found it difficult to maintain a continuous dominion over that country. During the long occupancy of Britain the Romans drained marshes, constructed roads and in other respects developed a material civilization, of which signs remain to this day. But they did not succeed in changing the language and nationality of the natives, as they did in Spain, Gaul and Northern Italy. Only a few Roman words remained, which were later adopted into the language of the English, such as port, wall, foss, street and a few others. Neither is it likely that there was much blood mixture with the natives, or that many Romans remained in the island after the Roman dominion came to an end. The Roman legions were recalled about the year 410 to defend Rome and Italy against the West Goths and other Teutons, and the Britons were left to themselves. During the Roman occupation the province had been exposed to attacks from two external enemies, the Saxons and other Teutons, who troubled the eastern shore, and the Picts and Scots, who came down upon the country from the north.

During the Roman occupation the Britons had become unwarlike, and after the withdrawal of the legions they were ill

prepared to ward off the attacks of these foreign enemies, as they were also broken up into parties by internal dissentions. In their distress they made the mistake of pitting one enemy against another. A party of Jutes under Hengest and Horsa are said to have been engaged by King Vortigern to drive back the Picts and Scots. This they did effectively; but being dissatisfied with their reward, or whatever the cause was, they next turned their weapons against the Welsh, or British, and the long war of the conquest of Britain by the English, or Anglo-Saxons, began, a war which lasted more than a century and a half, or from 449 till 613. It was a bloody exterminating war of race against race. Teuton against Celt, heathen against Christian, out of which conflict grew some of the traditions concerning King Arthur, the national hero of the Welsh in this struggle for existence.

The Teutonic tribes that conquered Britain from the Welsh and made it into England were the Jutes, the Angles and the Saxons, later called collectively the Anglo-Saxons. They called themselves Angelcyn or Angeltheod, that is, the English people. They came from Jutland, Schleswig-Holstein and the adjoining part of what is now northwestern Germany. They were then close akin and next-door neighbors to the Germans (Saxons, Frisians and Low Franks) on the one hand and to the Scandinavians (Danes, Swedes and Norwegians) on the other. King Alfred the Great (849-901), who wrote the first geographic and ethnographic account of the Scandinavian countries, says, in speaking of Jutland, Schleswig and the Danish Islands: "In these lands the English dwelt before they came to this land," that is to England. The first to come were the Jutes (Eotas), who were perhaps related to the people that still occupy Jutland. They began the English conquest in the year 449. Occupying the island of Thanet as their base of operations they, bit by bit, gained possession of Kent, which became the first English kingdom in Britain, as Canterbury became the first seat of English learning. The Welsh were killed or driven westward. Other Jutes occupied the Isle of Wight and a part of the adjoining mainland. Twenty-eight years later (477) a band of Saxons under Aelle and Cissa took possession of the district westward of Kent (Sussex), and eighteen years after that (495) another party of Saxons under Cerdic and Cynric sailed up Southampton water and began the conquest of the rest of Southern Britain. In the year 520 they met with a terrible defeat at Badon Hill at the hands of the Welsh, who were led in this battle, it is believed, by King Arthur. After this defeat there was a long lull in the

Saxon advance in this part of the country; but eventually the West Saxons, as they were here called, built up the largest and strongest of the Saxon kingdoms, comprising all the country south of the Thames, except Kent and Sussex, and much of the country north of the Thames and along what is now the Welsh border. Other Saxons occupied the district immediately to the north of Kent (Essex) and still others the adjoining district west of Essex (Middlesex). These Saxons were doubtless a part of that great northern tribe of Germans then known as Saxons, who were afterward conquered by Charles the Great and by him converted to Christianity at the point of the sword. They were the ancestors of the present Low Germans, or Plattdeutsch. With the Saxons that went to Britain there were also Frisians.

The third tribe, that which gave its name to the three tribes spoken of collectively as well as to the country, was the Angles (Engle), who came from Schleswig and are believed to have been the most numerous of the three. They lived between the Jutes and the Saxons and are said to have left their old home in a body. Their memory is preserved to this day in the name of Angeln, which is the name of a district in Schleswig, between Flensburg Fiord and the Schlei, and which is said to have remained waste after the Angles had emigrated. The Angles settled the country between Essex and the Wash, where they were known as the Northfolk and the Southfolk, or collectively as East Angles, forming one of the Anglian kingdoms, East Anglia. Others settled the great interior between the Humber and the Saxons, where they were known by various names, but collectively as the Mercians, or Marchmen, and their country as Mercia. Still others occupied the districts between the Humber and the Firth of Forth. They were known as the Northumbrians and their country as Northumberland, or Northumbria. This was sometimes one kingdom and sometimes divided into two, Deira between the Humber and the Tees, and Bernicia between the Tees and the Firth of Forth. These various parties of Saxons and Angles gradually pushed their way farther and farther westward. The Britons were doubtless in part subdued and enslaved and may eventually have mixed with and contributed a strain of Welsh blood to the English. This is infered from the nature of the Welsh words in English, which are mostly names of farm and kitchen utensils and indicate the social position of the people that introduced them. But the war was very fierce and bloody, and there is every reason to believe that, at least in the early period of the long struggle, the Welsh were for the most part

either killed or bodily driven westward. They were at last confined to Wales proper (North Wales) and Cornwall (West Wales), the latter being for centuries looked upon as a separate country and not thoroughly anglicized till within recent times. Cornish was spoken till near the end of the eighteenth century. Another part of the country where they held out for a while was the kingdom of Cumbria and Strathclyde, comprising the northwestern counties of what is now England and the southwestern counties of present Scotland. In 613, after a great victory, the Angles pressed on to the Irish Sea at Chester, thus separating Wales from Cumbria and Strathclyde. Somewhat earlier, after the battle of Deorham, in 577, the Saxons had extended their dominion to the Bristol Channel, separating Wales from Cornwall. From about the year 613, then, we may regard the continuous war of conquest to be at an end and the English to be in permanent possession of at least half of Britain; and the rest was little by little absorbed and anglicized except Wales proper, where the Welsh language is still enthusiastically maintained.

Shortly before this long war ended, missionaries had been sent from Rome to convert the English (597), and within a hundred years the whole country became Christian. Schools were founded, and in the eighth century literature and learning flourished as nowhere else in Western Europe. Politically the history of the seventh and eighth centuries is largely a record of internal war among the various English kingdoms, in which the Welsh often took part on one side or the other, the spirit of nationality among the English being weak. The outcome was the supremacy of Wessex under the strong hand of Egbert, which supremacy became the nucleus of resistance against the new enemy that had already begun to threaten the country and every year became stronger and bolder.

The Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain was the last ripple of that first great wave in the movement of the Teutonic race southward and westward, beginning in the fourth century, which destroyed the Roman Empire in the West and erected new states upon its ruins. The second great wave in this general movement was that on which the northern representatives of this race sought new outlets for their surplus energy or new homes for their overflowing numbers; in other words, the Viking expeditions, which began in the eighth and lasted to the eleventh century, resulting in the foundation of new states, with far-reaching influences on race, language, literature, manners and institutions. Excepting northwestern France, where Danes and Norwegians in the ninth

century settled in such numbers as to found a new race, the British Isles were more directly exposed to their attacks than any other part of Europe. In Ireland they founded kingdoms at Limerick, Waterford and Dublin, which lasted for centuries, at least the kingdom of Dublin. Their power here was broken by King Brian, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon them in the battle of Clontarf in 1014. At the same time they were in possession of the Isle of Man, the Hebrides, Orkneys, Shetlands, Faroes, Iceland and Greenland and large parts of the mainland of Scotland, such as Caithness and Sutherland. Iceland, Greenland and the Faroes we leave out of consideration, as they have remained permanently under Norwegian or Danish dominion. In parts of Scotland and the Isle of Man and the islands north and west of Scotland, which for centuries were tributary to Norway, the Norse overlordship was broken in the battle of Largs, in 1263, when the great King Hakon the Fourth of Norway was overthrown by King Alexander the Third of Scotland. In the Orkneys, where the people were for the most part Norse, and in the Shetlands, where they were wholly Norse, the Norse speech maintained itself for about a thousand years and did not become extinct till the seventeenth and the eighteenth century respectively.

In England the first Viking attacks were made in 789 and in 793-94, but were at first sporadic and made by small bands of men, the object being booty. In the course of the following century the invading parties became greater and greater, until 866, when an army came that overwintered and never again left the country. They brought their families with them and settled down permanently. In a few years they had conquered and occupied all the northeast half of the country. By the peace of Wedmore, concluded in 878 between King Alfred and the Danish King Guthrum, the Danes were left in undisputed possession of the country lying north and east of a line drawn from London to Chester, more than half of England. A part of this territory was reconquered by Alfred's great son Edward, and Edward's son Aethelstan won a great victory over Danes, Scots, Britons and Norwegians in the battle of Brunanburh in 937. In the third quarter of the century the great King Edgar was recognized as overlord over the whole of Britain. But under his weak son Aethelred the Unready, who attempted to have all the Danes in England massacred, November 13, 1002, the country was again invaded by great fleets of Danes and Norwegians, led by such men as Olaf Tryggvesson and Swein of the Forked Beard, whose sister had been among the massacred. 1013 Swein, then king of Denmark,

conquered and was recognized as king of all England. He died in 1014, but in 1016 the country was again conquered by Swein's son, Cnut the Great, who reigned till 1035 and was king also of Denmark and Norway. He was followed by his sons Harold (1035-40) and Harthacnut, who died in 1042, when Edward the Confessor, son of Aethelred, was made king. The Danish dominion then over England, or a part of England, lasted politically about 175 years; but on the people and their language the Danish influence was permanent. The part of England that the Danes settled was long known as the Danelaw (Denalagu) and was subject to Danish law. In some of the counties, such as Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the Danes settled very densely and were possibly in the majority. Here the Danish place names are the thickest, and here the language as still spoken is most Danish in character. The two peoples being of the same race and their languages so nearly allied that they could understand each other, amalgamation by intermarriage doubtless began early and was soon complete; yet the linguistic difference was considerable in the forms and inflections of words and in phrases and idioms, so that English in the north of England and throughout Scotland has a marked Scandinavian character in pronunciation and diction to this day.

The Scandinavians who settled the east of England (the Danelaw) are believed to have been chiefly Danes; so they are mostly called in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which was written at the time of these events or shortly afterward. Those who settled in the Northwest of England, from Cheshire to Dumfries, and in Scotland, Ireland and the Islands, were mostly Norwegians. But in those days all Scandinavians spoke nearly the same language, so that their influence on English was about the same in the Norwegian as in the Danish settlements.

The last foreign conquest of England was that by the Normans under Duke William. The Normans were descendants of the Danish and Norwegian adventurers who two centuries earlier had begun to occupy the valley of the Seine, but especially from the beginning of the tenth century, when Normandy was formally ceded to them by the king of France (912). They had intermarried with the French and formed that mixed race which played so conspicuous a part in the history of Western Europe and in the Crusades of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The strong government they established in England put an end forever to the local interests and dissentions which hitherto had divided that country. Spreading all over England and partly

over Wales, Ireland and Lowland Scotland, they contributed the last element in the formation of the English people. On the language and literature their influence was greater than all previous influences.

To sum up, the conquest of Britain by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes (449-613) and of the England that these founded by the Danes (866-1042) and later by the Normans (1066), who were already a people of mixed Teutonic and Celtic blood, brought the Teutonic and Celtic races together in that country, and the result of this race contact was the English people of today, who are a Teutonic people with a Celtic admixture. In the counties bordering upon Wales and in the southwestern and northwestern counties the Welsh blood is doubtless considerable, and in Cornwall the people are almost purely Celtic; but in the southern and eastern parts the English are almost purely Teutonic, Saxon south of the Thames and in Essex and Middlesex, Anglo-Danish from Essex to Edinburgh, especially as far north as the Tees, and Anglo-Norwegio-Celtic in the Northwest. Anglo-Saxon is not a very accurate term to apply to the race now. Anglo-Danish would be better; for the first part of the compound would comprise all the English tribes that first conquered Britain, as they themselves used the word English in that comprehensive way and not the word Saxon, though this came to be the collective term used by their Celtic enemies; and the second part of the compound might be understood to include the Norwegian element, according to the common usage of those times. Still better would be Teuto-Celtic or Teuto-British.

Of Ireland and Scotland I have already spoken incidentally. The Irish have a Teutonic element in their blood dating back to the ninth century, when many parts of the island were occupied by Norwegians, and to the time of Henry the Second, and later, when many Normans and English settled in the country. In Scotland likewise the people are a mixture of Teutons and Celts, the Celtic element being stronger than in England, but not so strong as in Ireland, except perhaps in the Highlands. To begin with, we have here the Picts of Roman times; then the Scots, or Milesians, who from the fourth to the sixth century crossed into Caledonia from northern Hibernia, settled on the islands and in the west, north of the Clyde, and eventually became one people with the Picts (844) and in the eleventh century imposed their name, Scotia, upon the country; next the Angles and Danes, who settled in the south, and the Norwegians, who settled especially in the north, west and southwest and on the Hebrides. The High-

landers, then, are Celts, with a Scandinavian strain in their blood; the Lowlanders Teutons (Angles, Danes, Norwegians), with a Celtic admixture, the Celtic perhaps predominating in the southwest. The people of the Hebrides are largely, and those of the Orkneys and the Shetlands almost wholly, of Norse stock. In the Welsh there is a slight Norse, English and Norman admixture, the Norwegians having settled especially in Pembrokeshire. In the Manx the Norse blood is considerable. The Norwegians had occupation of that island about four hundred years, it having been conquered by Harold Fairhair in the ninth century and ceded by King Magnus of Norway to King Constantine the Third of Scotland in 1266. The English people, then, those of England proper and of Lower Scotland, are, to repeat once more, of Old English, British and Scandinavian blood, and perhaps in that ratio, and may be represented by the names Brown, Jones and Robinson.* That is to say, the English are a people of mixed Teutonic and Celtic blood, the Teutonic blood predominating; as the Welsh, Irish and Gaels are of Celtic and Teutonic blood, the Celtic blood predominating.

ALBERT E. EGGE.

*Flavell Edmunds, "Traces of History in the Names of Places," (London, 1872,) p. 6.

SEATTLE AND THE INDIANS OF PUGET SOUND.

SEALTH

Chief of the Nisquallies,
A Firm Friend of the Whites,
For Him the City of Seattle
Was Named by Its Founders.

This is the inscription proposed to be placed upon a monument built by the municipality of Seattle, at the corner of Denny Way and Fifth Avenue. It is objectionable for a number of reasons:

1. The Nisquallies never had a chief named Sealth.

2. No chief named Sealth was known as the "firm friend of the Whites."

3. The City of Seattle was not named by its founders for or after either "Sealth" or the "Chief of the Nisquallies."

It is a well-known fact that the founders of Seattle named their town after Chief Seattle. Of course, they gave it his name, and not Sealth's, or Leschi's, or Patkanim's, or Kitsap's, or that of any other chief contemporary with him they chose to recognize and honor. Any other supposition is discreditable to the founders—the Dennys, Boren, Bell, Yesler and Maynard. It would have been quite as absurd to name the town for Sealth and call it Seattle, as it would have been to name the State for Washburn and call it Washington. If they had intended to name and call their town for Sealth, the city today would have been Sealth and not Seattle.

There is no published record, either book or newspaper, of any Sealth until within about twenty years, and no one has known a Sealth during that period of time. The Indian whose name was taken for our city lived as Seattle until 1866, died as Seattle, and was buried as Seattle. His sons were also called Seattle, and all of his descendants repudiate knowledge of any one known as Sealth.

It is said that there was an Indian whose baptismal name was Noah Sealth. This may be true, and may not. If true it may not have been Chief Seattle. If meant for Chief Seattle it undoubtedly was a blunder on the part of the officiating priest.

Seattle did not talk English or Chinook, and the priests in those days were men who spoke French fluently, but English quite imperfectly. Their records were often, if not always, kept in French. Intelligent communication between them and Indians like Seattle was very difficult, and frequently impossible. Under the circumstances, it is quite unlikely that he asked the priest to name him Noah. As far as known to the writer there is no record of such baptism and such naming, though repeated and diligent efforts have been made, at many places, to learn of it.

The priests of the earliest days on Puget Sound were Demers, who conducted the first religious service in Seattle, and who was the first Bishop at Victoria, getting the latter appointment in 1847; Blanchet, the Vicar-General and first Archbishop of Oregon; Bolduc, who was here as early as 1840; Ricard, Jayol, d'Herbonnez, Chirouse, Rossi, Vari, and perhaps others whose names are not now at command, down to Prefontaine and Kautan yet among us. As far as possible, their records have been looked up, and in them Indians have been found mentioned who are said to have been named Saitala, Sohtala, Siatlah, Siatla, Siatle, Salatalh and Seat'tlh, whose wife was said to be Hewyik. These may all have been connected with the Seattle family, and they may not have been. The records do not show. D'herbonnez baptised in "Siatlah," Henri, son of Siatlah and Hilo. In the list of contributors for a church at Puyallup, Chief Salatalh appears on the record as giving one-fourth of the whole cost, and Oiahl, his wife, as also giving one-fourth. Whether this "Chief Salatalh" was our Chief Seattle, it is impossible now to tell. It is well known that there was a Seattle family among the Puyallups. A dozen years ago a young Seattle, from Puyallup, took prominent part in a Fourth of July celebration in the City of Seattle. Admitting for a moment that the Indians named were all of the Seattle family, it is plain that the priests had no fixed form of spelling for the name. Each one in the written record approached the sound as nearly as he could, and he did so without reference to the efforts of the other priests or to the understanding of the American settlers, as they, in some cases, continued to use their own forms of spelling after the name Seattle was given to the town on Elliott Bay.

The record of Noah Sealth may have been burned or lost, if it ever existed. There seems to have been no repetition of the name, and as far as reported no other Sealth ever lived in this country. Putting the name upon the tombstone of Chief Seattle was an unfortunate error, repetition of which, upon the proposed monument, would be historically distressing.

It is evident that there really never was a Puget Sound Indian named Sealth. The sooner the idea is dismissed from the public mind, and forgotten, the better.

This proposed monument has called out two other questions:

1. Who was Seattle?
2. Who were the Nisqualliés?

There is no real doubt that Seattle was a Suquamish or Suquampsh Indian. According to George Gibbs, his mother was a Duwamish woman, through whom he obtained his chieftainship in the Duwamish tribe. Mr. A. A. Denny corroborates what Mr. Gibbs says, and the statement was undoubtedly correct. Seattle, however, did not live with or among the Duwamishes. His home was among the Suquamishes, near Port Madison. Notwithstanding their proximity, their common interests, and his being chief of both tribes, the Suquamish and Duwamish Indians were somewhat antagonistic and at times rather unfriendly.

In the war of 1855-56, the Duwamish Indians were either neutral or hostile to the whites; the Suquamish Indians were either neutral or friendly. It was proposed to remove the Duwamishes from the influences of other hostile Indians, by placing them upon the reservation with the Suquamishes, and there feeding and caring for them. Such was their dislike for the Suquamishes, however, that they would not go, and the combined persuasions of the white townspeople, the United States and Territorial officials, the military and naval forces and Chief Seattle himself, were not sufficient to move them. Some were finally induced to go over to Bainbridge Island, eight miles from the Suquamish home, and some were quartered in the town; Henry L. Yesler giving a lot of rough and refuse lumber for the building of houses in which they might comfortably dwell during the winter.

In his report of August 1st, 1857, G. A. Paige, agent for these two tribes, entered quite fully into the unpleasant relations existing between them. He said that their feelings were "most unamicable" and "deep rooted," and again that they regarded each other with "feelings of hatred." He was compelled to establish a new home for the Duwamishes near the mouth of the Duwamish River, placing James H. Goudy in charge of it. July 1st, 1858, Agent Paige reported again, he then saying: "I have to reiterate the suggestion made in my last annual report, to-wit: that the Suquamish and Duwamish Indians be allowed separate reservations, as the feud which has long existed between these tribes instead of becoming less is daily growing greater." The Suquamish Indians were the more numerous, 441 of them in 1857, against

378 Duwamish Indians. Under the circumstances, Seattle was more closely connected with the Suquamishes than with the Duwamishes; he chose to be so; and his chieftainship among them was more of a reality than that among the Duwamishes. It is, therefore, more nearly correct to speak of him as a Suquamish and as Chief of the Suquamishes, than as a Duwamish and Chief of the Duwamishes, he being so regarded by Gibbs, Denny, Shaw, Simmons, Maynard, Stevens, Paige, and others connected and acquainted with our Indian affairs half a century ago. It would be entirely proper to speak of Seattle as chief of the Suquamish, Duwamish and allied tribes, upon the monument referred to, but it would be far from right to refer to him there as chief only of the Duwamishes—the lesser tribe, and one with which he had least connection and influence.

It has been stated in one of the papers recently that Wm. H. Dall, a well known Pacific Coast authority on ethnological subjects, had said, in a report prepared by him in 1876, that "Seattle was chief of the Indians of the Nisqually nation." This was a mistake. Dall at that time contributed a valuable paper concerning the Indians of Alaska, but said not a word of Seattle, the Nisquallies or other Indians hereabout.

The only authority for the use of the name Nisqually upon this monument, or in connection with the middle and lower Sound Indians, is obtained from George Gibbs, who in 1855-56 wrote a paper upon the Indians of the Columbia River region, the Chehalis, Puget Sound and the west coast of Washington. Mr. Gibbs was quite learned, as may be inferred when it is stated that he came to Washington commissioned by Governor I. I. Stevens as geologist and ethnologist in connection with the Northern Pacific surveys under Captain Geo. B. McClellan, in 1853; that in addition he was a doctor of medicine, an attorney at law, a ready clerk and author of good repute. Besides all these things, Gibbs took a land claim in Pierce County, and pretended to be a farmer. He discovered what many men before him had discovered, and what a million people have since discovered, that the Puget Sound Indians were practically one people, one family, with one line of ancestors, and with much in common in the way of habits, languages and general characteristics.

Mr. Gibbs' home was on what was called the Nisqually plain, and he was near the Nisqually Indians—in fact in their very midst. It became convenient to him, when he wanted to speak of this great Indian family, to have a name that he could apply to all in common, and he chose for this purpose that of the Indians he

was nearest and knew best. If he had been located thirty miles further north, he probably would have called these Indians the Suquamish Nation, or maybe the Duwamish, and that this would have been more fitting than the Nisqually is undoubted, as the center of his so-called nation was where the City of Seattle now stands, and the center of population was likewise here.

Mr. Gibbs, or Dr. Gibbs, makes it plain that the connection between these Indians was quite insignificant. The Hood's Canal Indians had a language so different that they could hardly make themselves understood by the Indians elsewhere; there was a difference between the Nisqually and Suquamish dialects; the Snohomish and Snoqualmie, though adjoining tribes, by no means used the same language; and a like report was made of the Lummis and Nooksacks. There was nothing in common in the way of government. Each band or tribe had its own chief or chiefs and managed its own affairs.

The Snoqualmie and Nisqually Indians were in many respects more alike than any others, and yet the Snoqualmies would have fiercely scorned the appellation "Nisqually." Patkanim and Leschi, the respective chiefs, were bitter enemies. Leschi and his Nisquallies led off in the war upon the whites; Patkanim and the Snoqualmies were the open and enlisted allies of the white men. When the treaties were prepared by Stevens, Simmons, Shaw and Gibbs, which men, with others, signed them as parties and witnesses, there was no mention of any Nisqually nation except among the Nisqually tribesmen. Had there been the Puyallups, Squaxons, Skagits and others would have strongly demurred, and would not knowingly have affixed their X-marks to such papers. The United States Government chose to consider all the tribes as nations, and it made treaties with them as formally as though they actually were great, distant and foreign peoples.

Carrying out this idea, Gov. Stevens and Dr. Gibbs and their party, in 1854-55, dealt with the various aggregations of Indians separately, consolidating as many as they could, and calling upon those to sign who dwelt near together and were closely allied. If Seattle had been chief of the Nisquallies he would have been present and signed the Medicine Creek treaty of December 26, 1854. Having nothing to do with that nation, he was not asked to participate in the treaty making there.

At the next place, however, the white men dealt with the Suquamish-Duwamish nation or nations, and there Seattle had proper place, he being the first Indian signer of the Point Elliott Treaty of January 15th, 1855. Whether he knew it or not, he

was then and there put upon the treaty paper as chief of the Suquamish and Duwamish tribes, and probably so placed by George Gibbs himself. Patkanim represented his Indians, the Snoqualmies and Snohomishes; and Goliah the Skagits and others. Leschi and the Nisquallies did not interfere, and it was well for them they did not, as the stronger tribes of the lower Sound would have resented such action, blood would have flown, and the Nisquallies would have been wiped out. And so it was with the other Stevens treaties. The Governor knew no great Nisqually nation, but he did know a little Nisqually nation, and a number of other little nations of other names, the people of which were more numerous and powerful than the Nisquallies themselves, and who were politically as disconnected and independent as any other Indian tribes in Washington, Oregon or California.

The Vancouver expedition of 1792, the Wilkes expedition of 1841, the Hudson Company, the American missionaries and first settlers, Governor Stevens, the treaty maker, the military, the more recent inhabitants of the country, all, but George Gibbs, failed to find the Nisqually nation that he found, covering as he declared the country from the Chehalis to the Strait of Fuca and Bellingham Bay. But Gibbs' position was not a positive one, or a contention; it was more of a suggestion, thrown out, perhaps, for popular acceptance, but which encountered disfavor and rejection instead. With all due respect to him, his learning and research, it may be said his spellings of Indian names have been received with similar disfavor. Many of them are beyond present day recognition. Not one in ten has been preserved as he wrote it. He was not in all respects such an authority as attempt has been made to have him appear in the matter now before us—at any rate, not a popular and generally accepted authority. But for this matter of the monument, his Nisqually nation, maybe, would never again have been heard from. Hereafter, it will be well to let it, with Sealth, rest in peace.

An inscription for the monument that would be appropriate and truthful would be this:

SEATTLE.
1786-1866.
Chief of the Suquamish, Duwamish and Lesser Tribes of
Puget Sound Indians.
Friend Alike of the Red Man and of the White.
For Him the City of Seattle
Was Named by its Founders.

—THOMAS W. PROSCH.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: A STUDY OF THE ATTEMPT TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES BY THE APPLICATION OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY—1850-1860.

[Continued from Last Quarterly.]

Popular Sovereignty in Kansas.

The introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill produced an unprecedented storm.[1] The newspapers followed the lead of the Independent Democrats in exciting and guiding public opinion. The Northern Whig journals unanimously opposed the act and the Democratic press was divided. Those papers loyal to the administration favored the bill, the more independent condemning it. Douglas was burned in effigy from Boston to Ohio. Speakers in public meetings, and legislatures, condemned the bill and passed resolutions against it, but Douglas remained firm and the South rapidly rallied to the support of the bill.[2] This support on the part of the papers and people of the South was largely because the bill was so vigorously denounced by Northern sections which were looked upon as abolitionist centers. Still, there were many in the South who were not moved to approval of the bill by Northern opposition.[3]

In the North, steps were immediately taken to form a new party embracing all those opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In the Northwestern States and in Maine this new party took the name Republican, but in most of the Eastern States the opposition was drawn into the Whig and Know-Nothing parties, or into a more or less complete fusion of Whigs, Free Soilers and Democrats. The election returns showed that the Republicans or anti-Nebraska party carried all the Northwestern States except Illinois. In the East it was impossible to figure out exactly how things stood owing to the many varieties of fusion, and the sudden rise of the Know-Nothing party. Douglas claimed that the whole anti-Nebraska campaign had miscarried, though the administration had lost control of nine States and sixty-two seats in the House of Representa-

[1]Seward, "Life of Seward," II., p. 222.
[2]Rhodes, I., p. 463.
[3]Ibid., I., pp. 468-70.

tives. Speaking of the voters in the Northern States, Professor Smith says: "Except in the Northwest, their action was so far from being what anyone would have predicted that it seems scarcely credible. The diversion of the fierce anti-Southern anger of the Eastern States into the construction of a party whose professed principles were absolutely unrelated to the measures which caused the upheaval seemed utterly inexplicable on rational grounds. The outcome remained to be seen."[1]

Meanwhile a tremendous rush to Kansas had begun. The tide that Atchison and Henn had described as having moved westward to the borders of Missouri and Iowa poured forth into Kansas. The whole Northwest was astir. Large numbers of Germans went west from Missouri. The editor of the St. Louis News counted eleven wagons bound westward in a single day, and the Cincinnati Commercial noted the passage of seven hundred Germans.[2] More than a month before the bill was signed Eli Thayer had obtained a charter for the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, which was later reincorporated as the New England Emigrant Aid Society, the object being to settle Kansas with free State settlers.[3] In August, the town of Lawrence was established by the Emigrant Aid Society, which before winter set in had sent out five hundred settlers.

This organized emigration with a political purpose was an unexpected factor in the situation. Missouri and the South resented it, and when an election was called for November 29 to elect a territorial delegate to Congress the storm broke. Organized bands from Missouri crossed the line into Kansas on or before election day and cast their votes. A Congressional Investigating Committee found that 2,258 votes were cast for Whitfield, and that 1,729 votes were illegal. Supposing all the illegal votes to have been cast for Whitfield, the pro-slavery candidate, their subtraction from his total vote still left him a plurality of more than 200 over his nearest competitor; and he was admitted without question to a seat in the House of Representatives.[4] In January and February, 1855, a census was taken which showed the presence in Kansas of 8,601 people, of whom 2,905 were voters. Governor Reeder ordered the election of a territorial Legislature for March 30, and once more "an unkempt, sun-dried, blatant, picturesque mob" equipped with guns, revolvers, bowie knives and whiskey crossed from Missouri to take part. A total of 6,307 votes

[1]Smith, "Parties and Slavery," p. 120 and Chap. VIII.
[2]Chicago Weekly Democratic Press, June 10, 1854; Rhodes, II., pp. 78-9.
[3]Thayer, "Kansas Crusade," Chap. II.
[4]"Howard Report," House Report, No. 200; 34 Cong., I. Sess., pp. 4-8. Rhodes, II., p. 80.

were cast of which the Howard committee found 4,908 to be illegal leaving 1,410 legal votes. The free State vote, legal and illegal, if any were illegal reached but 791.[1]

It is no part of our purpose here to go into a detailed examination of these returns. A superficial examination is enough to convince one that the early history of Kansas is worthy of further study than it has yet received. Few historians of the period seem to have gone farther than to accept the majority report of the committee. The minority member, Mr. Oliver, points out glaring inaccuracies in the majority report that seem not to have been considered. In the first place both reports were expected to and did have an effect upon the political campaign then pending. Again, the majority determined the number of illegal votes by comparing the census returns with the poll books by districts.[2] How many voters were recorded by the census in one district and had moved to another before election and were therefor counted as illegal voters, we may never know. In a territory in which conditions were as extremely unsettled as they were in Kansas then, the number might easily be large. Still further, it is probable that many settlers coming to Kansas late in the fall or during the winter may have been required through lack of shelter, provisions and the comforts of life to return to the settled districts of Missouri for the winter. Such persons returning after the census had been taken would be classed as illegal voters. The absence of definite information on these points makes the acceptance of either report hazardous in the extreme.

The invasion of the Missourians roused the North to the highest pitch of excitement; and arms were called for. The directors and officers of the Emigrant Aid Society busied themselves to raise Sharps rifles, and the Civil War began with Kansas as the outpost.[3] The Free State party repudiated the territorial Legislature, and in a constitutional convention which met at Topeka, October 23, 1855, drew up a constitution prohibting slavery and asked admission as a State. The contest was opened in Congress by a report presented by Douglas from the Committee on Territories. The report said the committee had not been able to obtain definite and satisfactory information in regard to the alleged irregularities in conducting the election, the number of illegal votes, etc., but from what they had received they reported in favor of a bill authorizing the Legislature of the Territory to provide for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention as soon as the

[1] "Howard Report," pp. 9, 30.
[2] "Howard Report," p. 75. (Minority Report.)
[3] Smith, "Parties and Slavery," Chap. IX. and pp. 143-8; Am. Hist. Review, XII., 546.

Territory had the requisite population; and also reported in favor of an appropriation for executing the laws and maintaining public order in the Territory.[1]

This plan would leave the Territorial Legislature as it was. Douglas condemned the "unnatural and false system of emigration" carried on with the view to controlling elections, and charged the Kansas trouble to the actions of the Emigrant Aid Society. Collamer, the minority member, saw the cause of the trouble in slavery, popular sovereignty, and the Missouri Invasions. He therefore advocated the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska law, or a plan of action which would render the acts of the Kansas Legislature "utterly inoperative and void, and direct a reorganization, providing a proper safeguard for legal voting and against foreign force," or the admission of Kansas under its free state constitution.[2] Douglas advocated his bills in a powerful speech. He attacked Reeder mercilessly, declaring that he had recognized the Territorial Legislature as a legal body till he quarreled with it and was removed by the President; he charged and attempted to prove by quotations from utterances of the more hot headed leaders of the free state movement that their movement was "a case of open and undisguised rebellion;" he insisted that the Missouri invasion was an imitation of the Emigrant Aid movement, based on self-defense. But he held fast to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and reiterated the argument of his report that "justice, the genius of our institutions, the whole theory of our representative system, imperatively demand that the voice of the people shall be fairly expressed and their will embodied in the fundamental law, without fraud or violence, or intimidation, or any other improper or unlawful influence, and subject to no other restrictions than those imposed by the Constitution of the United States."[3] He refused to support the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution on the ground that it was the constitution of a political party—a faction—and not the act and will of the people. He supported the Toombs' bill which provided for a fair vote, but the bill was not considered in the House, because it was to the interest of the Republican party to keep the Kansas question open during the presidential campaign.[4]

The election over, "Kansas, under Geary's rule, ceased to bleed;" and the country quieted down to await developments.[5]

[1]Senate Com. Reports, 34 Cong., I Sess., p. 12. (Report of March 12, 1856.)
[2]Ibid., Report No. 34.
[3]Senate Reports, 34 Cong., I. Sess. (Report of June 30.) Cong. Globe, 34 Cong., I. Sess., p. 285. (Appendix.)
[4]Smith, "Parties and Slavery," pp. 166-68.
[5]Ibid., p. 173.

Buchanan's administration opened under favorable conditions in spite of the Dred Scott Decision, and the Republican party in the local elections lost ground nearly everywhere. Had Buchanan selected an impartial course, he might have ended "the whole territorial controversy" and have left "the Republicans with no grievance and no excuse for existence."[1] In his inaugural address he definitely promised to leave the whole slavery question to the resident settlers of Kansas, and Governor Walker stopped at Chicago on his way to Kansas to inform Douglas that the President was fully committed to this policy.[2] Before Governor Walker arrived in Kansas, however, the pro-slavery party, aided in part by the refusal of the free-state men to take any part in the elections, had elected a constitutional convention which drew up the famous Lecompton Constitution which declared: "The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." This constitution with a special article on slavery was to be submitted in such a way that the voter could only vote "for the constitution with slavery," or "for the constitution without slavery."[3] Here was Buchanan's chance to redeem his promises, but he wilted in face of the opposition of Cobb, Thompson, Davis, and other Southerners, and turned all the power of the administration to the support of the Lecompton Constitution.[4]

Douglas bolted and arraigned the Lecompton Constitution and the method that produced it in the severest terms; his speeches against Lecompton are among the best he ever made. "Sir,," said he, "call it faction; call it what you please; I intend to stand by the Nebraska bill, by the Cincinnati platform, by the organization and the principles of my party; and I defy opposition from whatever quarter it comes. * * * We are told we must force the Lecompton Constitution down the throats of the people for the sake of peace; for the sake of localizing the quarrel. * * * The moment you impose a constitution on that people against their remonstrance and protest you have nationalized this difficulty, and pledged yourself to maintain that government at the point of the bayonet, and with all the powers at your command; you have legalized civil war instead of local-

[1]Ibid., pp. 209-10.
[2]Richardson, "Messages and Papers," V., p. 431; Cutts, p. 111; Rhodes, II., p. 273.
[3]McDonald, "Select Documents," p. 436.
[4]Smith, "Parties and Slavery," pp. 217-9. Senate Exec. Doc., 35 Cong., I. Sess., No. 8, p. 130.

izing the Kansas quarrel. * * * God forbid that I should ever surrender my right to differ from a President of the United States of my own choice. I have not become the mere servile tool of any President, so that I am bound to take every recommendation he makes, without examining and ascertaining whether it meets with the approval of my judgment or not. * * * It is intimated, not charged, that there is something fearful, something terrible, in this thing of a man daring to be true and faithful to his principles, when other men do not desire that he should be."[1] Referring later in the debate to the desperate attempt of the administration to crush him by removing his supporters from the federal offices, he said: "I prefer private life, preserving my own self respect and manhood, to abject and servile submission to executive will. * * * Official position has no charm for me when deprived of that freedom of thought and action which becomes a gentleman and a Senator. * * * What depotism on earth would be equal to this, if you establish the doctrine that the executive has a right to command the votes, the conscience, the judgments of the Senators, and of the Representatives, instead of their constituents?" In old England "where they have a Queen by Divine right and lords by the Grace of God" no such despotism was practiced or would be tolerated. "I intend to perform my duty in accordance with my own convictions, neither the frowns of power nor the influence of patronage will change my actions, or drive me from my principles. I stand firmly, immovably upon these great principles of self-government and State sovereignty upon which the campaign was fought and won."[2]

Horace Greely wrote of the struggle: "Mr. Douglas never exerted himself so powerfully, and never exhibited more of that vigorous grasp and close treatment of his subject which characterize all of his efforts, nor ever displayed more resources, both in assault and defense, than on the various occasions in which the discussions brought him to his feet."[3]

The Lecompton measure easily passed the Senate, for Douglas was supported by only three Democrats, two Southern Americans and the Republicans, making a total of but twenty-five. In the House an amendment was carried re-submitting the constitution to the people.[4] A conference committee brought forward the English bill which was looked upon as a compromise by which re-submission was granted, but on the condition that if Kansas

[1]Cong. Globe, 35 Cong., I. Sess., p. 140.
[2]Ibid., p. 201 (appendix).
[3]New York Tribune, April 9, 1858.
[4]Dem. Review, June 1858, p. 439; Smith, "Parties and Slavery," p. 225.

rejected the Lecompton Constitution its admission was to be postponed till it had gained population enough to entitle it to one representative.[1] Douglas looked upon the land grant as a direct bribe to induce Kansas to accept a constitution it did not want. He objected to the requirement in regard to population. He believed it wise to keep all territories out till they had the population requisite for a representative in Congress, but if concessions were to be made to Kansas as a slave State, they should be the same for Kansas as a free State. He did not believe the people of Kansas could be fooled so easily, and retorted that the attitude of the South would be very different if the land bribe had been offered Kansas to make it a free State. When asked to make some concession on his side because the other side had done so much, he replied: "No matter how many and how great their concessions are, if they have not conceded the principle for which I contend, I cannot take what they propose.[2] His opposition to the English bill continued to the end, but it was passed, and overwhelmingly defeated by the people of Kansas at the polls.[3]

When the English bill was passed and submitted to the people of Kansas the administration had gone as far as it could go toward making Kansas a slave state. It was generally conceded at the time, however, that the people of Kansas would reject the proposition; and if they did so, all hope of making Kansas a slave state was at an end.

In the summer and fall of 1857 it looked as if the mission of the Republican party had ended.[4] Seward and his organ, The Times, accepted popular sovereignty.[5] Greely despaired of electing a President on a straight Republican issue and the Eastern Republican leaders began to feel that some combination with Douglas and against the administration was necessary to win in 1860.[6] The New York Herald predicted, "Senator Douglas will be the Black Republican of the Northwest in less than two months:" and in California the Republicans and Douglas Democrats combined to put up a fusion ticket.[7] Even the Chicago Press was inclined to be lenient with the Douglas Democrats. It said editorially: "Upon the whole, therefore, we think it best neither to be too lavish in promises on the one hand, nor yet hold up in advance, a period of probation to dampen the ardor of prospective recruits * * * the results of course would be deter-

[1]American Hist. Rev., XII., pp. 500-1; Rhodes, II., pp. 299-300.
[2]Cong. Globe, 35 Cong., I. Sess., p. 1870.
[3]Smith, "Parties and Slavery," pp. 225-6.
[4]Rhodes, II., pp. 302-3.
[5]Ibid., II., p. 305; Bancroft, Seward I.
[6]Chicago Press, March 9, 1858.
[7]Ibid., March 6, 1858; New York Tribune, Sept. 13, 1858.

mined by the established usages of the party—by the will of the majority."[1]

The attitude of the Eastern Republican leaders (Wilson, Burlingame, Colfax, Bowles, and others,) toward Douglas was well expressed in the New York Tribune, when Greely wrote: "It seemed to us, therefore, the true policy of the Republican party * * * to rally around him and uphold him on his new platform of practical resistance to the behests of the slave power. * * * Had this been done, Mr. Douglas could never more have been signally useful to nor trusted by the slave power. His hopes of future advancement must have rested perforce on the growing free labor sentiment of the country."[2]

Douglas' term was soon to expire and the Legislature elected in 1858 was to fill the place. The Republicans of Illinois were not willing to take Eastern advice, and nominated Abraham Lincoln as the Republican candidate to succeed Douglas. Douglas seems to have been willing to welcome the Republican party into his camp, but openly and persistently refused "to be drummed out of the Democratic camp either as a deserter or coward."[3] The Illinois Republicans had given up the idea of uniting with the Douglas Democrats, if indeed they ever seriously thought of doing so. "Once for all," said the Chicago Press, "let the Tribune (N. Y.) understand that the Republicans of Illinois so far from intending to return Mr. Douglas to the United States Senate, intend to defeat him, and they feel abundantly competent to manage their own affairs, and that they do not recognize the right of The Tribune to instruct them on the subject, nor do they give any heed to its suggestions. The Tribune will do well to address itself to a close observance to the eleventh commandment—mind its own business."[4] During the campaign The Tribune supported Lincoln, though still believing his nomination a mistake. When the campaign was over it seemingly justified in part Douglas' position. "That Mr. Douglas * * * was impelled to take positions in which the Republicans could not support him is very clear; but it by no means follows that he would have taken these positions had the Republicans of Illinois stood at his back instead of being desperately intent on his overthrow, and virtually leagued with the Buchananites to achieve that end * * * He could not afford to alienate, nor allow Mr. Buchanan to alienate,

[1]Chicago Press, March 16, 1858.
[2]New York Tribune, Nov. 12, 1858; Rhodes, II., p. 306.
[3]Chicago Press and Tribune, July 7, 1858.
[4]Chicago Press, May 14, 1858; Hollister, "Life of Colfax," pp. 119-22; "Greely to Medill," in Nicolay and Hay, II., pp. 140-1; Coleman, Crittenden II., pp. 162-164; Rhodes, II., pp. 305-7.

any portion of the Democratic party from his standard, if he were obliged to meet the entire Republican party marshaled in deadly array against him.[1]

The Lincoln and Douglas Debates.

The attempt to crush Douglas was not confined within the halls of Congress. His term as Senator was nearing its end, and the administration determined if possible to prevent his re-election. The South repudiated him; the Kentucky state convention expressed undiminished confidence in Buchanan; and Indiana, under the leadership of his two old friends, Bright and Pettit, carried the state convention to the Buchanan standard.[2]

In Illinois scarcely a week passed that did not see newspapers, postmasters and other Federal officers announce their change from Douglas to Buchanan. Those who remained friendly to Douglas were removed and their places given to administration supporters.[3] "There are unmistakable indications," writes the editor of the Chicago Press, "of extensive rebellion against Mr. Douglas in the ranks of the Democracy of Illinois * * * very different are the circumstances under which Mr. Douglas calls upon the Democracy of Illinois to sustain him now. He is openly arrayed against the policy of the administration which they helped to place in power. If they sustain him, they must fight the administration, which course takes them directly out of the Democratic party. * * * A very large number of the rank and file of the Democracy of the State will doubtless stand by the administration * * * there is no disguising the fact that Mr. Douglas will not be able to carry the party with him in the State * * * not only the old conservative masses * * * but even the local leaders of the party who have worked in the Douglas harness for the last dozen years are withdrawing their allegiance from the man, that they may cling to the party."[4] The next day the same paper said, "We shall not be surprised if more than half of the Democratic papers of the State were compelled by outside pressure to follow the example of the Peoria Union within the next fortnight."[5]

But the masses of the Democrats were too much attached to Douglas and "too honest and the prominent leaders too shrewd" to accept the Lecompton swindle. In nearly every county Doug-

[1]New York Tribune, Nov. 12, 1858. Macy, "Political Parties in the United States," pp. 258-9.
[2]Chicago Press, Jan. 13, 1858.
[3]Sheahan, Douglas, XVI.; Rhodes, II., p. 322.
[4]Chicago Press, Feb. 11, 1858.
[5]Ibid., Feb. 12, 1858.

las could count on the rank and file of the party.[1] The first skirmish came in the Chicago city election (March 2), in which the Republican ticket won by a majority of 1,100 votes; and it was charged by the Douglas organ that this was made possible by desertions in the Democratic wards.[2] In March the "National Democrat," Douglas' German organ, in Chicago, went over to the administration, and from its presses was issued in addition the "National Union," a new anti-Douglas daily. "Let the present ordeal be maintained for six months longer, and it would be an easy matter to take the census of such officeholders and Democratic papers as stand out against the administration," observed the Press.[3]

The Democratic state convention was called to meet at Springfield, April 21, and as the regular machinery of the party was largely in the hands of the Douglas Democrats, the administration Democrats issued separate calls by petition for county conventions to elect delegates to the state convention. That for Cook County was signed by 101 prominent Democrats.[4] When the delegates arrived at Springfield the Douglas Democrats were found to be in a majority, so the administration Democrats decided not to enter the regular convention, but to hold a separate one.[5] The Douglas Democratic convention contained 520 delegates—representing all but fifteen counties (Sheahan, page 392, says all but two counties), while the administration Democratic convention contained representatives from only twenty-eight counties, and some of these were visitors rather than authorized representatives.[6]

The administration Democratic convention endorsed the Cincinnati platform and adjourned to meet again June 9, in order "to give the Democracy time to turn out."[7] At the adjourned meeting, 263 delegates, representing forty-eight counties, met and adopted a platform and nominated candidates. Eighty counties were formally or informally represented before the convention adjourned, and some of the participants were men who "always ranked among the ablest leaders of the party in this State."[8] The Washington correspondents reaffirmed the continued determination of the President and the administration to continue "a war to the knife on the Douglas faction of the Democracy," and pre-

[1]Chicago Press, March 5, 1858.
[2]Ibid., March 4, 1858; Chicago Times, March 3, 1858.
[3]Chicago Press, March 17, 1858.
[4]Ibid., March 29, 1858.
[5]Sheahan, Douglass, pp. 390-94.
[6]Chicago Press, April 22, 23, 1858; Sheahan, Douglas, p. 392.
[7]Sheahan, Douglas, p. 393.
[8]Chicago Press, June 8, 9, 10, 11, 1858.

dictions were common that the administration Democrats would continue to gain strength as the contest continued.[1] These predictions, however, did not come true. With the entrance of Douglas into the campaign after his return from Washington, and the overwhelming vote against the English bill in Kansas, the administration Democratic party became an unimportant factor in the contest, at least as a third party, though it is impossible to know how many of them cast Republican votes.

The Douglas Democratic platform reaffirmed allegiance to the Cincinnati platform of 1856; reaffirmed its faith in popular sovereignty—the right of the people of a Territory by a majority vote at a fair election to decide the character of their fundamental laws; demanded the submission of the Lecompton constitution to a fair vote of the people of Kansas; and endorsed Douglas and the Democratic members of Congress from Illinois.[2]

The Republican state convention, which met at Springfield, June 16, 1858, unanimously nominated Abraham Lincoln as the senatorial candidate of that party to succeed Douglas, and it was then that Lincoln delivered his famous speech, in which he said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."[3]

On the ninth of July, Douglas arrived in Chicago and was accorded a rousing welcome.[4] He responded in a speech answering that of Lincoln. He justified his opposition to the English bill because it discriminated between free and slave States by allowing Kansas to come in as a slave State with a population of 35,000, "but if she demanded another constitution, more consistent with the sentiments of her people and their feelings, that it should not be received into the Union until it had 93,420 inhabitants." This attempt to influence votes for slavery was unfair. He believed the people would reject the bribe, but in any case the right of the people to decide for themselves had been secured, and he thanked those, Republicans and Whigs, who had fought with him for this principle. He had defended popular sovereignty against a united North in 1854, and in 1858 against a United South and still believed it a sound doctrine. Turning then to Lincoln's speech he found in it two distinct propositions.

[1]Chicago Press and Tribune, July 22, 1858.
[2]Sheahan, Douglas, p. 394.
[3]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 52. (Edited by A. T. Jones, Battle Creek, Mich., 1895.)
[4]Sheahan, Douglas, p. 398.

First, Mr. Lincoln "advocates boldly and clearly a war of sections * * * to be continued relentlessly until the one or the other shall be subdued, and all the States shall become free or become slave." Second, Mr. Lincoln goes for a warfare upon the Supreme Court of the United States because of their judicial decision in the Dred Scott case. On both of these points he was opposed to Lincoln. In answer to the first he vindicated the right of the people to regulate their own domestic institutions, and to the second, he declared that however he might differ with the court it was his duty as a citizen to bow to the will of the highest constitutional authority.[1]

Lincoln replied the next night in a much weaker effort than his convention speech, and Douglas made answer at Bloomington, July 16. Lincoln rejoined at Springfield next day, where he declared, "I adhere to the Declaration of Independence. If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it, let them come up here and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal except negroes."[2]

Thinking Douglas could be answered better from the same platform, Lincoln challenged him to a joint debate, and seven meetings were arranged—one in each Congressional district, except those containing Chicago and Springfield, where both had already spoken.[3] The joint debates attracted wide attention throughout the whole country, and brought Lincoln prominently forward as a Republican leader. Douglas had found no equal in running debate either in the Senate or House; and Lincoln certainly had the courage of his convictions and a confidence in the justness of his cause when he challenged him.

In the first debate Douglas asked seven questions which he called upon Lincoln to answer. He wanted to know if Lincoln:

1. Favored the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law.

2. Was opposed to the admission of any more slave States.

3. Was opposed to the admission of a State with a constitution satisfactory to its people.

4. Favored the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

5. Favored the prohibition of the slave trade between the States.

6. Favored the prohibition of slavery in all the Territories of the United States.

[1]Ibid., pp. 406-15, and Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 60.
[2]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 159, 180.
[3]Ibid., p. 161; Rhodes II., p. 321.

7. Was opposed to the acquisition of more territory unless slavery was prohibited therein.[1]

Douglas' object was to identify Lincoln with the radical wing of the Republican party in Illinois; but Lincoln would not so identify himself. Lincoln declared that while he did not endorse all the details of the existing law he did not favor the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law because such a law was guaranteed by the constitution. He would be glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted, but that if slavery be kept out of the Territories until they were ready to be admitted he would admit them. He did not favor the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia except upon three conditions: First, abolition should be gradual; second, decided upon by a majority vote of the qualified voters of the District; third, compensation to be made to unwilling owners. He had not carefully studied the question of slave trade between the States and did not care to state his position on it. He was pledged to the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories. And, finally, he was not in favor of acquiring more slave territory.[2]

Douglas did not consider Lincoln's answer to the third and fourth questions satisfactory, but could get no more definite answer during the debates.

Lincoln then retaliated by asking Douglas four questions, and later asked a fifth one:

1. Would Douglas favor the admission of Kansas before it had 93,000 people?

2. Can the people of a Territory lawfully exclude slavery before a State constitution is formed?

3. If the Supreme Court should decide that a State cannot exclude slavery, would Douglas acquiesce in the decision?

4. Did he favor the acquisition of territory irrespective of its bearing on the slavery question?

5. If the slaveholders in a territory needed Congressional protection would Douglas as a member of Congress vote for this legislation?[3]

To the first Douglas answered that as a general principle he did not favor admitting a Territory till it had population enough to entitle it to one Representative, but as the English bill made an exception favorable to slavery, he would vote to admit it as a free State with the population it had. In answer

[1]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 168.
[2]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 201-4.
[3]Ibid., pp. 204, 270.

to the second question Douglas replied that the people could exclude slavery from a Territory by unfriendly legislation. This doctrine became known as the Freeport doctrine.[1]

A great many biographers of Lincoln have laid emphasis upon his cleverness when in Freeport he asked Douglas the question that resulted in his Freeport doctrine of unfriendly legislation. Nicolay and Hay (II., p. 160) state that there is a tradition that Lincoln submitted the questions to a number of friends. The second one was objected to on the ground that Douglas would answer it yes, by unfriendly legislation. "Then," Lincoln is reported to have answered, "Gentlemen, I am killing larger game; if Douglas answers he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this." It is hard to disprove a tradition; but the facts in this connection are worth consideration.

On June 12, 1857, Douglas delivered an address before the Grand Jury at Springfield in which he said: "While the right (to hold slaves in the Territories) continues in full force under the guarantee of the constitution, and cannot be divested or alienated by an act of Congress, it necessarily remains a barren and worthless right unless sustained, protected and enforced by appropriate police regulation and local legislation presenting adequate remedies for its violation. These regulations and remedies must necessarily depend entirely upon the will and wishes of the people of the territory, as they can only be prescribed by the local Legislature."[2]

In Bloomington, July 16, 1858, Lincoln being present in the audience, Douglas devoted more time to a discussion of this question than he did at Freeport, saying, "Slavery will never exist one day or one hour in any Territory against the unfriendly legislation of an unfriendly people."[3] Again at Springfield the next day he expressed the same idea in regard to unfriendly legislation, and Lincoln criticised his designation of the Dred Scott decision as a mere abstraction in his answer the same day at Springfield.[4]

All this occurred before the Lincoln-Douglas debates were commenced, and any advantage Lincoln could possibly gain was in getting Douglas to answer in the joint debate because "of the greater interest incited by a joint debate."[5]

In answer to the third question, Douglas said that such a

[1]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 213.
[2]Nicolay and Hay, II., pp. 83-4, 159; Sheahan, Douglas, p. 423.
[3]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 109-110; Sheahan, Douglas, p. 423.
[4]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 157, 136; Flint, Douglas, pp. 196-206; Chicago Press and Tribune, July 20, 1858.
[5]Rhodes, II., p. 328.

decision was impossible; it would be moral treason and no man on the bench would stoop to it. Answering the fourth question, he said he felt free to annex territory and leave the people to decide whether the State should be free or slave. And finally, he would not vote protection to slave property in the Territories because he believed in non-intervention by Congress, and held that all domestic institutions should be left to the people themselves.[1] From previous speeches the "house divided against itself" issue and that of the Dred Scott decision were brought in. The points at issue between them may be summed up as follows: Lincoln planted himself upon the Declaration of Independence and declared that the negro was entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Douglas tried to push him to admitting equality between the negroes and whites; Lincoln denied that he believed this, "but in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hands earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."[2] But this equality did not hold in States having slavery, for Lincoln repeatedly denied that he was in favor of interfering with slavery in the States. He believed he had no right to do so and he had no disposition to do so. Even in the District of Columbia he was not in favor of freeing the slaves except by a vote of the people—an interesting recognition of the popular sovereignty which Douglas was advocating.

They both agreed to the inferiority of the negro, that the white race was superior. They further agreed that the negro need not necessarily be a slave because an inferior; that he had certain rights and privileges which he should be allowed to enjoy as far as consistent with the good of society. Meeting the question of what was for the good of society, Douglas would let the people decide for themselves; Illinois forbade slavery, Missouri did not; Maine allowed negroes to vote, New York did the same if they owned property worth $250. Douglas would not question the correctness of these provisions; he would allow each state and territory to decided for itself. Lincoln demanded that the territory be made free; he would not make the negroes the equals of the whites; he would not even make them citizens. The states, but not the territories could regulate slavery to suit themselves and he would not interfere with them in this matter, but in spite of all this he would not let go of the doctrines laid down in the Declaration, and the equal right to eat the bread they had earned by their toil. Douglas pointed out the inconsistencies he saw in

[1]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 212-17, 280.
[2]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 180.

these views but Lincoln insisted that there were no inconsistencies in them. The doctrines of the Declaration were held by Lincoln as abstract principles to be applied to new territory, but apparently not applicable to older states having slavery.[1] Douglas wanted to know what Lincoln would do with the states to be made out of Texas but Lincoln would not meet that question. He insisted that Lincoln's preliminary proposition that the territory must be free did not meet the situation, Texas was not now free, would he admit the states made from Texas? As to the Dred Scott decision Lincoln was opposed to it, he considered it as part and parcel of a plot to extend slavery, he predicted that the court would later deny the right to the states to prohibit slavery and wanted to know if Douglas would support the courts then. As already indicated Douglas did not meet this question by a definite answer, he argued it out of court as moral treason —an impossibility. Support of the Dred Scott decision forced Douglas to emphasize the doctrine of unfriendly legislation. Lincoln repudiated the Dred Scott decision and Douglas repeatedly scored him for not upholding the highest constitutional court. How could he take the oath to support the Constitution when he did not intend to do it? Lincoln argued that he was compelled to accept it as a principle of law but not as a principle of political action; he proposed to have it reversed if possible and to favor no measure that concurred with the principle there laid down. He pointed out how the court in Illinois had been reversed, and how Douglas got the title Judge by being made one of the new Judges which reversed the former decision.[2] Lincoln retaliated by showing that while Douglas claimed to uphold the court he was in practice advocating the overthrow of the decision by his unfriendly legislation. Douglas argued that the decision required additional legislation to make slavery possible in a territory. This the people need not give. As a matter of fact the two men were not far apart on this principle. Each was going to obey the decision as a rule of law but not of political action.[3] One of the most important differences between the debaters grew out of the policy of the "Fathers." Lincoln contended that the Nation could not exist half free and half slave. Douglas held that it could so exist; that it had so existed; and if the abolitionists would mind their own business, confine themselves to their own domestic institutions the country would continue to exist as it came from the "Fathers."

[1]Ibid., pp. 384, 431, 442.
[2]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 408; Flint, Douglas, p. 19.
[3]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 449, 455.

Lincoln claimed the "Fathers" did not leave a divided country; they restricted slavery, and the public mind was at rest so long as the policy of the "Fathers" continued.

Douglas pressed home with vigor the charge that Lincoln favored a war on the South in order that the country might "become all one thing"—free territory. Lincoln was repeatedly put on the defensive because of this "house divided" sentiment, though he absolutely denied any intention to interfere with slavery in the states. He was inclined to go no farther than to say that all territory should be free and slavery would gradually die out, in a hundred years or thereabout.[1]

"According to Lincoln's exposition the Republican party would act as if it were a church, a reform club, or an ethical society; it would simply exercise the right of saying that slavery was wrong."[2]

Douglas made a persistent attempt to show that Lincoln did not stand on the Republican platforms, that in the North he quoted the Declaration of Independence but in the South denied that he believed in equality. Lincoln positively refused to stand on any Republican platform other than that of 1856. Though Douglas repeatedly read Congressional platforms and caucus resolutions to show up Republican principles, Lincoln steared clear of them and explained that the radicals and conversatives met in convention, harmonized their differences, and upon that platform he stood.[3]

The Douglas solution for the slavery trouble was to allow the people to settle it for themselves. "Lincoln's objections * * * were historic and theoretical rather than practical. * * * It was in their moral attitude towards slavery that Lincoln and Douglas differed rather than in specific policies."[4] Under the Douglas method Kansas was becoming a free state, at least it was not coming in as a slave state.

Speaking of the campaign, after it had ended, the Chicago Tribune said it was one "in which the leader of the Democracy, a man of great courage, coolness and adroitness, approached so near Republican opinions on the vital questions of the campaign that we could not hit him without wounding our friends. * * *"[5]. Isaac N. Arnold, a biographer of Lincoln, a Republi-

[1]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 321; Macy, "Political Parties in the U. S.," p. 271.

[2]Macy, p. 267.

[3]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 167, 220, 225, 233, 343, 344; New York Tribune, Nov. 5, 17, 1858.

[4]Macy, "Political Parties in the U. S.," p. 265; Wise, "Life of H. A. Wise," p. 265.

[5]Chicago Tribune, Nov. 9, quoted in New York Tribune, Nov. 12, 1858.

can, and an intimate friend of both debaters wrote, "this canvass of Douglas, and his personal and immediate triumph, in being returned to the Senate, over the combined opposition of the Republican party, led by Lincoln and Trumbull, and the Administration, with all its patronage, is, I think, the most brilliant personal triumph in American politics."[1]

The Campaign of 1860.

Douglas aided by a favorable legislative apportionment won the Senatorship over Lincoln, but he did not get a majority of the votes.[2] In every Northern state, except Indiana which was won by a Douglas follower, the administration had lost support, and its failure to make Kansas a slave state discredited it in the South. Douglas was held responsible for this; it was his popular sovereignty that had made Kansas a free state, and he was removed from the position of chairman of the Committee on Territories by the Senate caucus of Democrats. Following his campaign with Lincoln he made a tour of the South in an attempt to win converts to his doctrines.[3] "Mr. Douglas during his canvass in Illinois and in his speech at New Orleans uttered sentiments eminently befitting a great statesman; and promulgated a platform which, with a solitary exception, includes as sound political creed as the most Southern man should desire. He vindicated the institution of slavery on moral grounds and advocated it, as a wise and necessary element in our agricultural system," wrote the editor of DeBow's Review.[4]

In the Senate Southern opposition to Western interests was further shown. Iverson explained his attitude against the Pacific Railroad by saying that he did not propose to help build a railroad which would be outside the South Confederacy when the Union was dissolved.[5] A homestead bill was shelved in the Senate after passing the House because it would help the settlement of the free states. The inevitable clash came between Douglas and Davis, and each side issued its ultimatum to the other. It was what DeBow's Review called the solitary exception, viz.: unfriendly legislation, that separated them.[6] Davis claimed that he was standing squarely on the doctrine of non-intervention as it was laid down by Calhoun in his Senate resolution of Febru-

[1]Fergus, Historical Pub., II., p. 152; Macy, p. 271; Burgess, "Middle Period," pp. 62-3.
[2]Moses, Illinois; Historical and Statistical, II., pp. 1189, 1212.
[3]Flint, Douglas, pp. 181, 189; Nicolay and Hay, II., pp. 171-4; Rhodes II., p. 354.
[4]DeBow's Review, Vol. 26, p. 641.
[5]Cong. Globe, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 242-4.
[6]Ibid., pp. 1244, 1246, 1257.

ary 19, 1847, and, in fact, Davis' resolutions of February 7, 1860, are substantially a restatement of Calhoun's doctrine.[1] But Douglas and his Northern followers did not adhere to the Calhoun interpretation, and Alex. H. Stephens and his followers agreed with Douglas rather than with Davis.[2] Non-intervention, said Davis, "seems to have been more malleable than gold, to have been hammered out to an extent that covers boundless regions undiscovered by those who proclaimed the doctrine. It has a different meaning in every State, in every county, in every town."[3] Alex. H. Stephens writes: "Calhoun denied the power, [of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territory] yet he was for the Compromise Line; and the same position is taken by the whole fire-eating crowd."[4] When the compromise of 1850 was under discussion, Jefferson Davis signified his willingness to accept an extension of the Compromise Line—36° 30′—in lieu of Calhoun's non-intervention, and in 1854 he arranged an interview between Douglas and President Pierce, which resulted in Pierce's support of Douglas' bill with the whole power of the administration.[5] Later Davis used his power as Secretary of War to make Kansas a slave State. How a consistent supporter of Calhoun's interpretation of non-intervention could support a bill purporting to leave the whole question of slavery in the Territory to the decision of the people of the Territory, subject to the constitution, is hard to see unless the Kansas-Nebraska bill meant nothing. If the slave-holders had "an equal right to go into all Territories—all property being alike protected" what was to be decided by the people of the Territory?

The facts in the case seem to be: That Douglas and Stephens and their followers accepted the principles of the compromise of 1850 as superceding the Calhoun doctrines of 1847, but Davis did not.[6] In 1859, he spoke of 1850 as "that dark period for Southern rights;" later, in 1854, he was willing to accept the Kansas-Nebraska bill as a possible means of adding a slave State, but when it became known that Kansas would not enter the Union as a slave State, he retraced his steps and resumed his stand on the Calhoun doctrines.[7]

[1]Calhoun's Resolution in Cong. Globe, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 455; Davis' Resolution in Cong. Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 658.

[2]Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 315 (appendix). Johnson and Browne, Alex. H. Stephens, pp. 302-4.

[3]Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 1941. Davis' Rise and Fall of Confed. Govmt., I., pp. 40-41.

[4]Johnson and Browne, Alex. H. Stephens, p. 288.

[5]Globe, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 520; Davis' Rise and Fall, I., p. 28; Rhodes, I. 483, II., pp. 85, 122, 240, 277, 295.

[6]Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 315 (appendix); Globe, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 586 (appendix).

[7]Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 1941.

In the opinion of Alex. H. Stephens it was this new position taken by the South that wrecked the Democratic party at Charleston.[1] As a matter of fact, the position was not new; it was a position in harmony with the earlier Southern interpretation of the Calhoun doctrine that had, apparently, been thrown overboard in 1850 and 1854.

Douglas had repeatedly quoted Davis and Orr in his debates with Lincoln to show that the Freeport doctrine was good Democracy, but the South was in no mood to accept it.[2] The Southern Senators planted their guns on the Calhoun theory of 1847, which Douglas had repudiated. A great deal has been said in derision of Douglas' Freeport doctrine, but the Southern Senators clearly saw that the right to take slaves into a Territory was barren unless backed up by local protective legislation. They understood the slavery situation much better than the Northern scoffers who derided the Freeport doctrine as metaphysical. Douglas steadfastly maintained that slaves could be brought into the Territory just as dry goods, liquors, mules, or other property, but they must remain there subject to the local laws. Davis maintained that if the people of the Territory were opposed to slavery it could not exist in such a Territory. Douglas heartily agreed to this, but Davis and Brown wished to push him to support by Congressional legislation a slave code which would protect slave property in a territory. Answering Senator Brown in particular, Douglas said, "I am much obliged to him for taking it for granted, from my record, that I would never vote for a slave code in the Territory by Congress; and I have yet to learn that there is a man in a free State of this Union, of any party, who would."[3]

During the next session of Congress the two leaders of the Democratic factions again defined their positions. The Democratic convention was soon to meet at Charleston and these declarations were to define the issues to be fought out there. On January 12, 1860, Douglas said: "I am not seeking a nomination. I am willing to take one, provided I can assume it on principles I believe to be sound; but in the event of your making a platform that I could not conscientiously execute in good faith if I were elected I will not stand upon it and be a candidate. * * * I have no grievances, but I have no concessions. I have no abandonment of position or principle; no recantation to make to any

[1]Johnson and Browne, Alex. H. Stephens, p. 358, 9, 62, 364; Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 315 (appendix).
[2]Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 110, 425; Flint, Douglas, pp. 165, 195, 201-7.
[3]Cong. Globe, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1241-74.

man or body of men on earth."[1] On the second of the following month, Davis introduced a set of resolutions defining the Southern demands. The crucial one declared that neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature could directly or indirectly deprive a citizen of the right to take slaves into a Territory, and that it was the duty of the Federal Government to afford the necessary protection to maintain slavery there.[2]

When the convention met, the Southern delegates in caucus determined to stand by the Davis resolutions. Douglas as resolutely insisted that the platform should embody his principles and that the nominee, whether himself or not, should stand squarely upon that platform.[3] Here was his time, had he been the time-serving truckler to the slavocracy that he has been painted, to give way and unite the party and secure the nomination. On the 20th of June, during the adjourned session of the convention, Douglas wrote to Richardson, his lieutenant, "While I can never sacrifice the principle (of non-intervention) even to obtain the presidency, I will cheerfully and joyfully sacrifice myself to maintain the principle. If, therefore, you and my others friends * * * shall be of the opinion that the principle can be preserved, and the unity and ascendancy of the Democratic party maintained * * * by withdrawing my name and uniting with some other non-intervention, Union-loving Democrat, I beseech you to pursue that course. * * * I conjure you to act with a single eye to the safety and welfare of the country, and without the slightest regard to my individual interest or aggrandizement."[4]

The final result was the nomination of two sets of candidates, Douglas and Johnson of Georgia, on the Douglas platform, and Breckenridge of Kentucky and Lane of Oregon on the Davis platform.[5]

In the campaign which followed, the number of meetings and oral addresses was beyond precedent. "We judge that the number of speeches made during the recent campaign has been quite equal to that of all that were made in the previous presidential canvasses from 1789 to 1856 inclusive."[6] Douglas plunged actively into the campaign, speaking in the North, South, East and West. At Chicago he said: "I believe that the country is in more danger now than at any other moment since I have known anything of public life."[7] The Republicans generally hooted at

[1]Cong. Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 424.
[2]Cong. Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 658.
[3]Flint, Douglas, pp. 221-2.
[4]Flint, Douglas, p. 212; Rhodes, II., p. 474.
[5]Halsted, "National Political Conventions of 1860;" Rhodes, II., p. 440.
[6]New York Tribune, Nov. 8, 1860.
[7]Rhodes, II., p. 488.

attempts at "Union saving," as they were called. Seward said that the threats of secession might frighten old women, but the "stock-market remains provokingly calm."

A characteristic editorial on this subject, though written during the Lincoln-Douglas debates, is worth quoting at length:

"TIME FOR UNION SAVING TO BEGIN. It must be approaching time for Union saving to begin. Here is a month of the campaign gone, the Union in the meantime going to everlasting smash, and the Giant has not stirred a muscle to save it. Where are the old apostrophes to that gal-o-ri-ous bird of freedom? Where are the denunciations of the traitors, parricides and fanatics that have been amusing themselves with pulling the tail feathers out? Where the Jeremiads that used to be said and sung on every stump, when the Union was the theme? There's but one way to account for the Senator's silence. He is in more danger than the Union. The Republicans have dropped the American Eagle and are making HIS feathers fly; and he is attending to what is nearest at hand. But the Union must be saved. If Douglas won't do it somebody else will. Who will take the contract to save the American Union? Douglas' hands are full (he's bringing Lincoln to his milk?) and he can't. Who'll save the Union?"[1]

At no time during the canvass had Douglas any hopes of election. His main effort was to save the Union. In Pennsylvania, Indiana, New York and New Jersey attempts at fusion against Lincoln were more or less completely carried out. Breckenridge and Bell gave Davis power to withdraw their names if Douglas would withdraw in favor of a candidate satisfactory to all. Douglas replied that if he withdrew his friends would support Lincoln. He was sure his friends would not accept the proposition.[2]

At Baltimore Douglas said that although every Breckenridge man was not a disunionist, every disunionist was a Breckenridge man.[3] At Norfolk, Va., in answer to a question whether the election of Lincoln would justify the South in seceding, he said: "To this I answer emphatically, no. The election of a man to the presidency by the American people, in conformity with the constitution of the United States, would not justify any attempt at dissolving this glorious confederacy."[4] Another question put was: "If they, the Southern States secede from the Union upon the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, before he commits an overt act

[1]Chicago Press and Tribune, Aug. 25, 1858.
[2]Davis, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," I., p. 52.
[3]Rhodes, II., p. 483.
[4]Rhodes, II., p. 491.

against their constitutional rights, will you advise or vindicate resistance by force to their secession?" Douglas replied: "I answer emphatically that it is the duty of the President of the United States, and all others in authority under him, to enforce the laws of the United States as passed by Congress, and as the court expound them. And I, as in duty bound by my oath of fidelity to the constitution, would do all in my power to aid the government of the United States in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance to them, come from what quarter it might. In other words, I think the President of the United States, whoever he may be, should treat all attempts to break up the Union by resistance to its laws as Old Hickory treated the nullifiers of 1832."[1] At Baltimore he expressed similar sentiments, going so far as to say that he was ready to hang the nullifiers.[2] On October 9th the Pennsylvania Republicans carried their State ticket by 32,000 majority, and in Indiana they won by nearly ten thousand. South as well as North now knew that Lincoln would certainly be elected in November. Of the popular vote, Lincoln had 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckenridge, 850,082; Bell, 646,124. But it was the electoral vote that told the story. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes; Douglas, 12, Breckenridge, 72; and Bell 39. In neither House, however, did the Republicans have a majority. When Douglas heard the returns from Pennsylvania and Indiana in October, he cancelled all Western engagements and spoke in Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, everywhere denouncing disunion. He believed "the Union would be safe under Mr. Lincoln, if it could be held together long enough for the development of his policy," and it was for this he was striving. When Sumpter was fired on he immediately called on Lincoln to assure him of his support in the war, but in less than two months he was dead. Horace Greeley wrote, "Our country has often been called to mourn severe, untimely losses; yet I deem the death of Stephen A. Douglas, just at the outbreak of our great Civil War and when he had thrown his whole soul into the cause of the country, one of the most grievous and irreparable."[3] From across Mason and Dixon's line Alexander H. Stephens wrote, "His death, at the time, I regarded as one of the greatest calamities, under the dispensation of Providence, which befell this country in the beginning of these troubles."[4]

[1]Rhodes, II., p. 491.
[2]Wilson, "Slave Power," II., p. 700.
[3]Rhodes, III., p. 415; Greeley, "Recollections of a Busy Life," p. 359.
[4]Stephens, "The War Between the States," II., p. 421.

In his last speech, which was made at Chicago, May 1, 1860, before 10,000 people, Douglas said: "There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; **only patriots or traitors.** * * * It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as Civil War, but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally around the flag of his country."[1]

—EDWARD McMAHON.

[1]Rhodes, III., p. 414.

COLONEL STEPTOE'S BATTLE.*

The American people are still in the making. It has been said that ours is a country without history, without traditions and without national pride. If we lack in history, it is to our credit that its few and scattered pages record no instance of oppression or wrong to the citizen. The light of progress illumes its pages, and it is better that it be so than to record a glory equal to that of the ancient kingdoms.

If we lack in traditions, what comfort can we claim in that those we do cherish stand for truth, honor and patriotism. What country, nation or state can boast a legacy so rich as the story of Lexington or Valley Forge? What character in the chronicles of humanity can furnish the inspiration to love, to do justice, perseverance, mercy, patience, courage and fortitude, as the simplest tale of the simplest character the world has ever known—our own Lincoln. Let the world claim what it will. Around an humble life America has built a very fountain of influence that answers for the efforts of all the ages. Let boast who will of chivalry and deeds of valor; we claim them all and more. Our first and great tradition is based on the principle of love for humanity.

It may be that we lack in national pride. If to establish and maintain schools, hospitals, libraries, to build up great business enterprises, to maintain an army that has never been defeated, and never will be defeated, and a navy that is the pride of the seas, to found a nation and in the comparative nothingness of an hundred and thirty years make it the greatest of all the earth is a matter of national pride, then we can with truth and comfort say in pride, that pride which is not boasting, bigoted or intolerant, that we are the proudest people in the world.

Every American can well be proud of his country, of the great men who have been called to rule and govern it. He can well be proud of his State and its accomplishments. Wherever we go or return the work of our people cry aloud our purposes and our achievements. The cottage and the mansion alike sing a paen to our country's greatness.

In line with the development of our history, our traditions and our national pride, we are marking in fit and proper manner the historic spots of our country, that all "who pass this way

*Address delivered at the dedication of the Steptoe Memorial Park.

may know the truth," and knowing, take resolution for the future.

In Europe there exists a beautiful custom, that of erecting shrines along the highways and in the villages. These are dedicated to some saint, and in mute command impel the faithful to bow the head in fervent prayer.

The influence of this custom cannot be measured. Anything, be it a shrine, a tablet or a monument erected to the heroic dead, that calls man to stop, to think for himself, within himself, is not a pagan custom, a vagary or naked in its significance. It meets the fundamental demand of the human soul for rest and refreshment, a time for thought, with the world shut out. It has existed since the first altar was erected, and will exist so long as the soul impulse is dominant in man.

We have been slow and negligent perhaps. The world loves show, and the more conspicuous are cared for first. But the people are just, and in time our whole duty will be done. The nation and the state have had no time to pick out the places and erect the shrines that are so justly due the martyr and the pioneer, whose first grasp of this, our country, was violently broken, and whose blood ran out in tiny rivulets to mark the cherished places of the civilization so soon to follow.

We have been slow, but to the great honor of our people, and as evidence of its democracy, the reclamation of this spot and its future marking will depend upon those who are near and dear to us, our neighbors and our friends. We are under deep obligation to the people of Rosalia. To Esther Reed Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution of Spokane, and to Mrs. Ivan Chase, of Colfax, our thanks are especially due. In the veins of these noble women flow the blood of Bunker Hill, of Saratoga and of Yorktown. The soul of the patriot still lives, and to these mothers of men of a nation will in turn bear grateful acknowledgement for a work which you and I, my brother, had so long neglected.

The story of the Steptoe expedition is a simple one and might be soon told. I may assume that in the main it is familiar to all of us. The people of Rosalia have made it familiar. The newspapers have only recently reviewed it, and it is not my purpose to say more than I deem sufficient as a proper premise to the conclusion I would draw. It is enough to say that word had come from the settlers in the Colville country that the Indians had become insolent. It had been reported that one or more Americans had been murdered on the Palouse River. It was known that

Kamiakin, Chief of the Yakimas, was hostile to the whites. Therefore, on the 6th day of May, 1858, Colonel Steptoe, at the head of a company of about 110 men, set out for the Spokane and Colville country. On the 16th they learned of the presence of the Indians in force a few miles beyond, and on the evening of that day found themselves in the presence of from 600 to 1,000 fighting men, representing the Spokane, Coeur d'Alene and Palouse tribes. The troops camped that night in the presence of the Indians.

"Finding that he should have to contend against great odds, without being prepared, Steptoe determined upon retreating, and early in the morning of the 17th began his return to the Palouse."

This in itself was an invitation to the Indians to attack. They had proceeded only three or four miles when overtaken by the overtaken by the Indians. With jeers and taunts of cowardice they circled about the little band. They were better armed than the dragoons, and the unruly ones did not hesitate to fire, believing the white man to be afraid. Slowly, laboriously the retreat went on, over yonder hill, through yonder draw. The savage made merry over his certain victim. The love of torture, delight in the suffering of others, characteristic of his race, is the only hypothesis upon which to rest the comparatively happy termination of this disastrous venture; otherwise, had the rules of civilized warfare prevailed, they would have shot them down at once, or surrounded them, have captured all, who to escape a fate so miserable had not ended their own careers. Finally, the day drawing on, a dragoon was stricken and he fell. Immediately the order not to fire was forgotten. The battle was on. The soldier who has often been a coward, in the mind of his enemy, because his training demanded that he meet death rather than disobey orders, threw off restraint and became a brother thirsting for revenge. Even at this time, in consequence of the pious effort of the good Priest Joset, there were but few Indians engaged, and the troops might have retired without great loss, but for the fact that Jaques and Zachary, the latter a brother-in-law of Head Chief Vincent, were killed. The Coeur d'Alenes, whose hands had hitherto never been dipped in the white man's blood, broke loose from the influence of the priest, and their fury knew no bounds. Pressed to the last degree, overcome by heat, thirst and anxiety, the hill just above us was gained. They had to stay upon the hill-tops—it was the vantage ground. The flat was before them. To cross it probably meant utter annihilation, for the Indians would at once take the vantage ground hitherto held by the soldiers. It was resolved to make a stand and fight

as long as possible. The supplies were gathered, the horses picketed, and the men lying flat upon the ground made a cordon about them. Thus they fought, returning shot for shot, until the evening came. Being without ammunition and almost exhausted, it was resolved to flee.

In the battle there had fallen twelve brave souls, among them Captain Oliver H. P. Taylor and Lieutenant William Gaston. Young, brave and daring officers, who had won by courageous conduct the love of their fellows. Their bodies were recovered, buried, and horses were led over the shallow graves to obliterate the mound left by the intrusion of the returning clay. "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note." The Howitzers were dismantled and buried, and quietly, silently in the darkness of the night, they stole away.

In passing it may be said that with the coming of the night the immediate danger had passed. The previous night had been passed in security. The Indian has never fought at night. Whatever the danger of the day, the night usually brought security. The war whoop has come with the first flush of dawn, and died with the setting sun. It must be remembered, however, that Colonel Steptoe was absolutely ignorant of the Indian character, otherwise he may have given ear to the warning of the friendly Nez Perces before he crossed the river on his way, and certainly he would have halted, when on the 16th he was informed that the Indians were but a few miles beyond and prepared to resist his further progress. The time and manner of his withdrawal were also inexcusable on grounds other than ignorance. One bold man has often awed or won the admiration of the hostile Indian. Any act, however, indicating fear has been enough to bring disaster and defeat to many a brave soul who failed to appreciate the impression left by his conduct upon the mind of the untutored adversary.

Much has been written in criticism and in defense of this brave officer. Whether in starting with a handful of men, mostly inexperienced, with only side arms, other than the two Howitzers, which could have been of but little value in any event, and but little ammunition, to make an incursion into a country where he should have expected, or at least been prepared for hostile demonstration, is an issue which I shall not undertake to decide. Let the historian speak and the people judge.

Be it remembered, however, that he had not been trained to meet the Western Indian. He was a soldier trained to warfare in the rules of war. The pioneer and settler recovered the West-

ern reserve; they met craft with craft, cunning with cunning; they made punishment swift, sure, and sometimes terrible. This could not be learned, aye it could not be tolerated, at West Point, where men were trained to fight their peers. As a rule, the regular army was not until more recent years successful in its dealing with the Indian. Indian fighting, now happily passed, was a development, and when Colonel Steptoe was in command Crooks and Miles were unbearded striplings and had not yet taught the government that rules did not apply, and that the company, battalion or brigade must be broken into individual units to meet a savage foe. In my humble judgment Colonel Steptoe has been misjudged. He may have been in error, but he was not at fault. Error springs from ill judgment; fault from disregard of that we ought to know. Men's errors are buried with them. Steptoe lived to meet his critics, and received the merciless pelting of the "warrior of the upholstered chair."

Custer and Canby, the one jealous of his glory, the other in the service of the Master, were guilty of grievous fault—they should have known. They are accepted as heroes, for they died upon the field of battle. Expressing, then, my own opinion, without design or purpose to influence the ultimate verdict, I say, in justice to humanity, that Colonel Steptoe was a hero no less to be revered than many before whom death in its mercy has drawn the curtain of silence. If he was rash and indiscreet in leading his followers into danger, he was merciful and heroic in his retreat.

Let one speak who is best qualified to know:

"What breaks my heart, is to see Colonel Steptoe, the zealous protector of Indians, exposed to the blame which ordinarily attaches itself to bad success; however, in the eyes of reflecting men, who know his situation, his retreat will do him infinite honor. It is not, I think, the first officer who could thus have drawn himself out from so bad a situation, surrounded by an army of ferocious beasts, hungry after their prey; of Indians sufficienty numerous to relieve each other, and who had always the means to procure fresh horses. It appeared impossible that the troops could escape. Besides, the plan of the Indians was not to give them any rest until they had crossed the Nez Perce; the Spokanes were to be there early on the morning of the 18th to relieve the Coeur d'Alenes. In a position so critical, the colonel deceived the vigilance of his enemies, and throwing them his provisions as an inducement to delay, he defeated their plan. He foresaw without doubt, that the Indians on the one hand had let him take the advance, and on the other tempted by the booty abandoned the pursuit; so that if the troops have escaped, they owe it to the sagacity of the colonel."—Joset.

Nor are we here to condemn the Indian and charge him with the murder of those whose memory we would hallow. We should always attune our judgment to meet the conditions presented in the particular case. It is not for us to judge harshly those whose acts are consistent with the nature that the Almighty Father has planted in their hearts and souls. We must approach the case from the viewpoint of the offender, find his motive, and let "mercy temper justice." You say he was treacherous; it may be true. You say he fired while we were retreating, it is true; but withal he acted in accord with his nature. We met the Indian in battle, and he fought us as we would fight, with all the zeal and means at his command. He fought with the light and understanding which he had. He may have misunderstood our plans and the peaceful nature of our mission, but it should be remembered that this was the cherished and traditional hunting ground of his fathers. He had word that his distant relatives had been crowded out, and limitations put upon his going and his coming in the beautiful valley of the Willamette. The lawful acts of his fathers had been proscribed and he had been punished by the whites.

At the conference with General Stevens the Indians had been told that they must retire to reservations, a part of them to be among the Nez Perces, with whom the more northern tribes were not friendly. They had been told by mischievous marplots, that the whites would take their lands and they would receive no pay for them. They believed themselves to be the owners of their country and had sent word that soldiers must not be sent among them. They had said that a road must not be surveyed through their country to the headwaters of the Missouri, and they knew that an expedition was preparing for that purpose.

More than that, the chiefs of the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes were men of strength and character; they loved their people and their homes. Truth insists that we speak the truth. With the coming of the civilized white they could foresee the passing of their race. They had seen disease and pestilence scattered in the wake of immigration, and liquor had been introduced by the trader. The judgment and manhood of the tribes had thus been weakened and their morals corrupted. Let us imagine ourselves in a similar situation before we render the verdict that will condemn these tribes to the contumely indulged by the unthinking and careless who measure all human conduct by their own pharisaical standard of right.

The Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes had legitimate reason to

believe that their demands would be heeded, for they had always been friendly with the whites. They had protested their neutrality in the troubles with the Yakimas. No crimes of any consequence had been charged to them, and had the progress of the troops been originally arranged through the intervention of the missionary, I doubt not it would have been peacefully accomplished.

Father Joset's influence over the Indians was limited, in that he did not know all of them, and they resented his interference or suggestion in matters other than spiritual. To use his own words, "You appear to think that we could do almost anything with the Indians. Far from it. Even among the Coeur d'Alenes there is a certain number that we never see, that I do not know in any manner. The majority mistrust me when I come to speak in favor of Americans."

But in the instance we record the Father would have undoubtedly allayed the ill-feeling of the Indians but for the unfortunate fact that Steptoe was far away from the direct trail from Fort Walla Walla to Colville. That trail did not lead through the country they cherished as their home and hunting ground. The Indian was torn in thought and distracted in purpose.

Standing between the forms of two religions, the one adopted by the Nez Perces, and the other by himself, it is not surprising that tribal jealousies should be fomented. The presence of the Nez Perces among the soldiers was calculated to increase suspicion in the savage mind. Like his white brother, he believed his form of religion the proper one, and resented the intrusion of those whom he believed would interfere with his beliefs.

Unfair indeed are those who insist that Father Joset was culpable or blamable for the attack. Could it be expected that he could impress the Indian with the idea that to fight was wrong, that he could overcome their traditions, the martial spirit, the growth of the centuries? In truth you must answer no. No man living or who has ever lived could have done so, especially when the Indian knew that a christian, civilized people insisted on the right to bear arms, to organize, and to fight in force.

Religion is a growth, and he had not grown in it. In the hour of test and trial no form of religion has proved binding upon the mind and conscience of a savage people, unless that people have themselves developed it by gradual and imperceptible stages, or passed more than one generation beyond the time of its adoption.

In the presence of exciting influences, it is not surprising that

he should have forgotten the lessons of mercy. If he had been taught mercy and peace he had also heard much that the savage nature could not comprehend.

The story of the Genesis had been told by the preacher and the priest. The story of Joshua, and of Jehovah upholding the shields and spears of Israel were his also. In the light of retrospect and history a dangerous leaven to set working in the savage mind. In it he saw God's direct intervention. He saw him feed the hungry, clothe the naked and heal the sick. He believed the white man's religion rather than his own effort would bring him peace and comfort and habitations, and may we say it, shot and powder and guns. His simple trust must surely be shattered. He was hungry, yet he was not fed. His child was sick, yet it died. It is marvelous that the missionary exercised as much influence as he did. All these things moved him to reject the advice and counsel of the priest. And in judging him we must judge him as he was, a simple savage, prompted by the instinct that prompts even the brute to defend its own and its home, and blinded by an utter but natural misconception of the object of Colonel Steptoe's expedition.

Have I been too generous in my treatment of our foe on that day? Say it if you will, that our heroes were murdered by these painted savages, condemn the Indian character if you will, but remember that on the shaft to be erected and which will mark the place where your heroes received their mortal wounds, there will appear a tablet as enduring as the one upon which the names of Taylor and Gaston will eppear, one that will bear another name, and that name will be that of Timothy; one who never knew the taint of other blood, but who from longer association better understood, and whose people better understood, the white man.

If the savage, hanging on with murderous persistence, held our little army for his torture, it must in justice be said, that it was a savage who led these brave men out of their extremity and to the first place of safety open to them, and that among his own people, likewise savages, who were sufficient in numbers to annihilate them. But they fed them, comforted them, and being rested, sent them on their way in security. I have said that Colonel Steptoe was out of the direct road to Colville, and that this fact impressed the Indians with his hostile intent. It also empressed Father Joset with the notion of Timothy's treachery. He says:

"I knew, from Colonel Steptoe, that his guide told him he was conducting him to Colville by the nearest road. Now that

the guide mistook himself so grossly, is absurd to suppose. It appears necessary to conclude that in conducting the troops straight upon the camp of the Indians, he had design. It cannot be supposed that he ignored the irritation that the presence of the troops would produce upon the Indians; and as for the rest, the intriguing of this guide is well known. I see no other way to explain his conduct, than to say that he laid a snare for the Coeur d'Alenes, whom he wished to humiliate, and that seeing afterwards the troops fall in the ditch that he had dug for others, he has done everything possible to draw them from it."

In the light of history this, in my judgment, is unmerited and unjust, and proceeded from a misunderstanding, or rather from a want of knowledge of all the facts. It will be remembered that Colonel Steptoe's first object was to punish the Palouse Indians who had murdered the American travelers. This necessitated his going through the Palouse Country. He crossed the Snake at Alpowa and was, as we know, and as Timothy (who was at Alpowa when Steptoe arrived) said, on the direct road to Colville. Fort Walla Walla was on the present site of Wallula. It will thus be seen that Father Joset as well as the Indians, ignorant of the fact as they were, had some reason to suspect the good intent of the faithful Timothy.

What a wonderful thing is Time. How it smooths out the rough places. How it overcomes passion and eradicates prejudice. Fifty years; what accomplishment! The world has been made anew in fifty years, and from the watch towers of our present development we can see in the midst of the long ago the drama of that day re-enacted. We see three great and grand men, each struggling in his own way to serve his fellow man. Those men were Steptoe, Joset and Timothy.

The cupidity of man had put into the hands of these children of the plains better arms than the soldiers had. The priest and missionary had come armed with trusting faith, preaching peace and mercy. The fur traders had come armed, and with arms to put into the hands of every one, whether civilized or uncivilized, the means to swell the winter's pack of fur, that royalty might be adorned and wealth disport itself in the drawing rooms, oblivious of the dangers and injustice to humanity sown in the wake of those who gather the playthings of civilization. The missionary and the trader were unconsciously more hostile in their purposes than were the Indian and the white man. In all its advancement the light of the world has suffered temporary obscurity from the greed of man. Short sighted, indeed, was the policy of a government that permitted the armament of a race that had contested every inch of the course of empire from the

Atlantic to the Pacific. Were it not so this narrative and countless others of like character would find no occasion for utterance.

Among the relics recovered from the battlefield, and with which I have been made familiar, are three old army pistols, the tires from a gun carriage, and a six pound shot. These were gathered from the finders by the late George D. Anderson, who took a great interest in the subject with which we are dealing. No doubt these will in time find their way into a state or national museum, and for all time speak to the passer-by of a time gone forever, and conditions in our national development impossible of repitition.

Upon this ground a marble shaft will be raised to commemorate the event and make record of lives run out in the performance of duty,—one that will endure through countless ages, but it will not be the first monument erected to mark the spot. When Colonel Wright came north in the fall of 1858 to punish the Indians and after he had routed them at the battle of the Three Lakes, he sent an expedition under Major Greer, Lieutenant Gregg, Pender and White, to the battlefield. Doctor Randolph accompanied them. Gregg and Randolph were in the Steptoe fight. The occurrence is thus described by Lieutenant Kipp:

"At noon the dragoons returned from their expedition to the battlefield. They reached there at 12 o'clock the day before, and found the hills which on that sad day were swarming with their excited foes, now as silent and deserted as a city of the dead. The whole battlefield presented a scene of desolation. In the heat of battle but few of the bodies of the fallen could be recovered, and in the night, before their retreat, these were the only ones which could receive a hasty burial. The rest had to be left on the field where they met their fate. The wolves and the birds of prey had held their festival, and for nearly six months the sun and rain had bleached the whitened bones which were scattered around.

"As Lieutenant Gregg and Doctor Randolph rode over the field, they could point out to the other officers the scene of each event in that day's hard fight,—where the battle began, where charge after charge was made to drive back the foes who so far outnumbered them, where Taylor and Gaston fell in the desperate attack at the head of their men, and where they were gathered in the night for the brief consultation, worn out with the contest, yet seventy-five miles of country to be passed over before they could place the river between them and their exulting enemies.

"The remains of the two officers were found, and the scattered bones of the men, gathered up, to be brought back. The two howitzers were found, also, where they had been buried. The Indians had not disturbed them, but contented themselves with carrying off the gun carriages, which they afterwards burned.

"One thing more remained to be done. Among the articles

left on the ground was a pair of shafts belonging to one of the guns. These were taken and fashioned into a rude cross, which was set up in the midst of the battlefield, to remind all future travelers of the sad event of which this had been the scene. And then, after depositing around it all that could be gathered up from the relics scattered over the hillside and wherever the fight was waged, they left the field in solemn silence."

It will thus be seen that the impulse of the race to mark the resting place of the dead was manifest. Long after the settlement of this country the pioneer here gathered relics from the mound of rubbish. The rude cross was carried away, possibly by some one who did not know its purpose, otherwise he would have reverently protected it. Now all identity is lost, and even the spot we dedicate must be pointed out by those who survived that awful day.

Fifty years ago today the spot we dedicate became historic ground. In the evolution of our Western border no concern was taken of those places where the tender shoots of civilization were first nourished by the blood of our countrymen. Upon this soil we shall hereafter rear a lasting monument that will speak of the occurrences of that not remote, yet distant past, when our voices are stilled and we shall be forgotten.

This soil, like all the boundless prairies, the fertile valleys, and the majestic mountains of the West, found its way into the great cauldron, under which the fires of human energy have since burned without ceasing. It passed from a careless and heedless government into private ownership. It has for many years made its return to the husbandmen who have tilled it. It has played its humble part, its significance unheeded, and its glory unsung. Like the pure gold of self-sacrifice, it has been lost in the simple effort of the every day.

But on this day which too shall be marked as worthy of keeping, it shall be rescued from sordid uses and made to stand out as a great landmark, significant, inspiring.

The names of our historic dead, their accomplishments and their memory belong to all of us. The citizen, of whatever degree, can claim them as his own. They are a national heritage, and whether marked by marble shaft planted deep in the earth or resting on the surer foundation of the grateful heart, they are an inspiration and a guide. Their effort is not stayed. Their works are not silenced by death.

"The Captive's oar may pause upon the galley,
The soldier sleep beneath his plumed crest,
And Peace may fold her wings o'er hill and valley,
But thou, O Patriot, must not take thy rest."

—S. J. CHADWICK.

DEDICATION OF STEPTOE MEMORIAL PARK.

With much pomp and ceremony and in the presence of one of the most notable gatherings ever held in northern Whitman and southern Spokane County, the Steptoe Memorial Park was dedicated in this city Monday.

Among the visitors were Governor and Mrs. Mead, Colonel Lea Feabiger, commanding officer at Fort Wright, several other army officers, hundreds of prominent Spokane people, including the members of Esther Reed Chapter, D. A. R., a large number of prominent Colfax citizens and many prominent people from all over Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. The number of visitors from other sections is estimated at 1,200, the total attendance at the ceremonies being about 2,200 people.

The pleasure of the occasion was marred somewhat by a gale that blew continuously all day, but the program was such an elaborate one that everybody enjoyed the occasion in spite of the threatening weather, and the crowd went home, pleased and dusty, but withal happy.

Visitors for the occasion began to gather here the two preceding days, and Sunday evening about 200 visitors were already in the city. The Monday morning trains brought large delegations from Waverly, Plaza and Spangle and a number of visitors from Pullman, Palouse, Garfield and Oakesdale.

The first special train arrived from Colfax at 10:30, bringing a delegation of about 100, headed by the Colfax band, with "little" Fred Ratliff as drum major.

They were met at the depot by the reception committees and awaited for the arrival of the first special train from Spokane, which arrived ten minutes later. On board the first special train from Spokane were Governor and Mrs. Mead, and about one hundred prominent Spokane people, including the members of Esther Reed Chapter, D. A. R. Fifteen minutes later the third special train arrived, carrying Colonel Lea Feabiger, U. S. A., and his staff and the First Battalion, Third Infantry, consisting of three companies, numbering 200 men, headed by a drum corps of sixteen pieces.

The regulars were in campaign equipment, carrying haversack and canteen, and apparently prepared for battle, the only marks of dress parade being white gloves. When the troops

marched up Whitman Street, keeping time to the music of the bugles and the drums, a thrill of pride and patriotism seemed to pulsate through the crowd and the younger folks exchanged ideas, the main trend of the remarks being that "them fellars could lick the Japs."

The military display was a great treat for many of the visitors who had never before seen so large a gathering of regulars under arms.

The parade formed on Fifth Street and marched up Whitman Street to Seventh and up Seventh into the country road and out to the Memorial Park site. At the head of the parade rode Marshals T. F. Prichard and L. W. Anderson, followed by the Fort Wright drum corps, heading the First Battalion; then came the Colfax band, headed by Sheriff Ratliff, and immediately following was the carriage containing Governor and Mrs. Mead, their carriage being followed by twenty-five other carriages containing many of the prominent visitors.

The exercises at the park site were brief. A temporary platform was erected and occupied by Governor and Mrs. Mead, General T. R. Tannat, Mrs. M. A. Phelps, Regent of the D. A. R., Reverend F. N. Smith, County Commissioner W. McCoy of Oakesdale, Mayor F. M. Campbell and Judge M. H. West of this city.

Reverend F. N. Smith of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, offered an invocation, after which Judge West, on behalf of the Rosalia citizens, presented the deed to the park site to Mrs. M. A. Phelps, Regent of Esther Reed Chapter, D. A. R., of Spokane, who expressed the appreciation of the D. A. R., and presented the deed to W. McCoy, Chairman of the Whitman County Commissioners, who officially accepted the same and placed it into the keeping of the county.

General T. A. Tannat, of Spokane, a member of the West Point Graduates' Association, gave a brief sketch of the careers of Captain Taylor and Lieutenants Gregg and Gaston, who met their death on the park site, and concluded with an eulogy of the work of the D. A. R. During the ceremonies the regulars were lined up opposite the stand and at the conclusion of the program the audience joined in cheers and waving of flags. The Colfax band rendered several patriotic airs during the program.

The audience then marched to the stand on Josephine Street and the troops went into camp the corner of Josephine and Ninth Street adjacent to the stand.

It was the hour of the old-fashioned basket dinner and everybody seemed to enjoy it. Many of the visitors were fed at the

ladies' rest room in the Pythian Hall and the dray lines delivered the parcels from the check room to stand. The troops carried their regular army rations, the local committee adding cakes and cigars.

The sight was a picturesque one. Under a huge canvas at the stand sat many of the leading people of Eastern Washington and pioneers of the state enjoying a picnic dinner. Farmers, merchants, officials and professional men made merry; fashionably gowned ladies and prattling children enjoyed the informality of the hour; and just adjacent two sentinels paced back and forth before rows of stacked-up rifles and beneath the trees adjacent the troops partook of their noon-day rations. It was a picture that delighted the heart of the camera artist and many of the kodaks worked overtime. The stand was among the trees and protected from the dust so that the vistors were comfortable. Had the wind been less violent during the afternoon exercises, the speakers would have experienced less difficulty.

At 1:30 Colonel Lea Feabiger delivered the first address on the afternoon program. Colonel Feabiger spoke on the value of the army as pioneers and said in part:

"The history of the world shows the soldier always as the advance agent of civilization or conquest, or both, and savage have either had to conform or cease to exist. The centers of civilization of all times have been extended not by the quiet arts, so-called, but by arms, and the so-called wars of conquest of the ancient Egyptians and Persians, and later the Greeks and Romans, the leading civilized nations of their epochs, were all against barbarian tribes eventually extending to them, in spite of the slaughter incident to the process, the benfits of the highest civilization of their respective days.

"Incidentally the spread of all prominent religions have been by the sword, the Mohammedan faith almost entirely by that means alone and even the religion of the gentle Christ has found its most potent missionary in the soldier, at least in its beginning, all wars against the heathen in the middle ages being waged for this alleged purpose and sanctioned, for that reason, by the head of the then universal Christian church.

"The aborigines of the two Americas were converted by this means, entirely so in the Spanish possessions and practically so in the French, where the energetic and self-sacrificing Jesuit priests were closely followed, where not preceded, by the man of war of that day, himself a zealot of no little ability in church doctrine.

"We are now approaching a stage in the world's history where there are practically no more barbarous people or uncivilized countries, and the soldier of today will soon cease to act as a pioneer for lack of raw material and confine himself more and more to his dual duty of national and universal policeman,

keeping the peace between nations whose commercial spirit and aggressiveness tends even more than the wars of old to oppress and take advantage of the weaker.

"In this latter day role the soldier has even become a pedagogue, as in the first years of the occupation of the Philippines, as soon as military government was established, public schools were at once instituted the enlisted man of the army being installed as teacher throughout the islands."

Following Colonel Feabiger, J. A. Perkins of Colfax made a brief address. Mr. Perkins spoke of the bill introduced in Congress to appropriate $5,000 for the Steptoe Memorial monument and urged the people of Eastern Washington to take up the question of an appropriation of $2,500 by the state legislature and the raising of a similar amount by public subscription.

Judge S. J. Chadwick of Colfax was the next speaker on the program. [His address is published in full elsewhere in this Quarterly.]

Governor Mead when introduced told the story of a young man who returned from the war and who was telling his mother about the dangers of the battle. "Why," said the mother, "didn't you hide behind a tree?" "But, mother, the officers had all the trees." The Governor laughingly remarked that had he been in the battle he would have preferred to have had a tree, but if no tree had been around, and Sheriff Ratliff had, he would have preferred to hide behind him. When it is remembered that Mr. Ratliff tips the scales at the 350 mark, it will be noted that even the Governor's ample personage would have been fairly protected from bullets.

Speaking in a serious vein, Governor Mead intimated that his message to the next legislature was yet to be written and that it would contain a recommendation to the state legislature that an appropriation of $2,500 be made for the Steptoe Memorial monument. Governor Mead during his speech said:

"I have had no more congenial experience during my term of office than the pleasure of prosecuting work inaugurated by me of securing and preserving the portraits of men prominently identified with the history of the territory and state of Washington. At an insignificant cost to the state I have been enabled to secure, through relatives and friends of the men, the pictures of all the governors excepting that of Governor Gholson, many of the territorial delegates to Congress, justices of the territorial and state supreme courts, judges of the federal courts, the representatives and senators since statehood, the territorial and state legislatures from 1881 to the present time, the constitutional convention and an excellent portrait of our naval hero, John Robert Monaghan.

"It is fitting that the great army of which Colonel Steptoe was an honored member should be represented here today; an army which has been such a great factor in compelling peace and maintaining the reign of law in the Indian country; which served so valiantly, not only in subduing the Indian disturbances of the past, but, in the wars that threatened the very existence of our country; served with loyalty and upheld the honor and integrity of our flag.

"Had it not been for the sacrifice of such men as served under Colonel Steptoe, the settlement of this Inland Empire might have been postponed a quarter of a century or more and we might not have had an opportunity to build cities and develop our wonderful resources; might not now have these fields of grain that surround us on every hand from which to garner the abudant harvest; might not have these swift lines of communication, propelled by power developed by the cascades and falls that characterize our streams, and might not have the great branches of our railroad systems to transport our products to market. In fact civilization and all of its concomitant advantages would have long been deferred.

"The patriotic work of this organization restoring historical places, erecting monuments and otherwise cultivating the spirit of patriotism merits the highest commendation. If this nation continues, love of country and patriotism must be transferred from father to son. Not only the children should form the student body of the university of patriotism, but the people who come to our shores from foreign countries must be enrolled that they may be impressed with the sacredness of our history and the development of our institutions, and taught to respect the names of those who have contributed to the success and the upbuilding of this nation.

"A state possessing such wonderful diversity of resources is surely destined to become the home of millions rather than a million. Unless our future population steadily adheres to the traditional precepts of our form of government and respects our institutions and reveres our history, our past efforts and future growth will be in vain.

"The eyes of the people of Washington are today directed toward this spot and they will hold in grateful remembrance the efforts of your society in preserving this history for future generations. You have a noble duty to perform and you are performing it with honor and credit."

Thomas J. Beall of Juliaetta, Idaho, who was packmaster under Colonel Steptoe and a survivor of the battle fought on the grounds dedicated was the last speaker on the program. Mr Beall said:

"In April, 1858, Colonel Steptoe, who was in command of the post at Walla Walla, received orders to go into the northern country, that is the Colville country, and establish a post. The

government was just on the eve of surveying the 49th parallel and this northern post was needed to protect the surveyors.

"Colonel Steptoe did not go out to subdue the Indians. That is proved by the fact that the soldiers did not take their sabers, and they had poor guns. There were only about eighteen good guns in the squad, and the Indians were better armed than we were.

"Our guides were Timothy, a Nez Perce, who was friendly; Levi, also a Nez Perce, and Simon, of the same tribe.

"We crossed the Snake River at Alpowai because the Palouse Indians, who were not friendly, did not have the boats that would take us across the swift water, made of canvas would not answer the purpose, so we had to depend upon the Nez Perces.

"From the point where we crossed the river we took the most direct route for Colville. Going out we passed within four miles of Steptoe Butte. We crossed the Palouse River about two miles above the present town of Palouse.

"We also had for a guide a halfbreed, Charley Connors. He was killed on the hill yonder the night before we escaped. On the evening we made our escape many of the soldiers thought faithful Timothy was playing traitor. We supposed we were surrounded, and Timothy asked to be sent to find a gap through which we could escape. Some of the men feared he was going over to the hostile Indians.

"But Colonel Steptoe believed in Timothy. Besides we were not taking many chances, as our ammunition was exhausted and we should have soon been masacred anyway, with no help nearer than Walla Walla. Even when Timothy returned and reported that we could escape some feared that we were being led into an ambush.

"We left our tents standing, and our campfires brightly burning, and by daylight we were far on our way.

"When we reached the Snake Timothy called over fifty of his braves and stationed them as sentinels during the night, while we got our first good rest for several nights."

J. J. Rohan of Walla Walla, who was erroneously reported dead several weeks ago, was a guest of the day and occupied the speakers platform. Mr. Rohan was with Colonel Wright's command and was one of the company which was sent in the fall of 1858 to remove the bodies of the dead soldiers from the old battle ground.

The program was interspersed with music by the Colfax band and vocal selections by the Rosalia chorus. The renditions by the band were pleasing, and the work of the chorus was highly complimented.

The Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting immediately following the program and transacted their regular routine of business. The old officers were re-elected for another year

but no other business was transacted, owing to the lateness of the hour and the desire to be at the special trains to bid the visitors "God Speed."

At 4:30 the troops, headed by the drum corps marched through the streets and then boarded the train for Spokane. At 5 o'clock the special Colfax and Spokane trains departed, and many more visitors went out on the 5:30, 6:45 and 9:00 o'clock trains.

Governor Mead left this city for a cross country auto trip, visiting Oakesdale and Tekoa. Mrs. Mead remained in this city until Tuesday, and was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Wilmer. J. J. Rohan of Walla Walla also remained as a guest at the Wilmer residence.

Thos. J. Beall remained here as a guest of Mr. and Mrs. Ralston McCaig and went over to Waverly Tuesday to locate a point of interest on the old trail traveled by Colonel Steptoe's command.

Many visitors stayed over until Tuesday and were the guests of local people. In the evening the younger set enjoyed a social dance in Tumley's Hall, about fifty couples being present.

"Old Glory" now waves from the flagpole in Steptoe Memorial Park and marks the spot where the conquering whites lost one of their last battles to the vanquished red man. A few years hence a marble shaft will mark the spot on the hillside where the flag waves and as the trains on three different systems roll by through the valley below, travelers will be told the story of brave Timothy, the Nez Perce chief, who was faithful to his trust and saved the Steptoe command. The body of Timothy now lies in a grave near Lewiston, Idaho, unmarked and unnoticed and the sentiment has been expressed that the field that proved the loyalty of Timothy would be a fitting last resting place for his remains.

Mr. Beall located the place where five Indians were hung by order of Colonel Wright. According to Mr. Beall the punishment of the Indians took place where the old Kaintuck trail crosses Hangman Creek several miles north of Waverly. Four of the Indians that were hung were of the Umatilla tribe and were hung on general principles. The fifth Indian was of the Yakima tribe and was known as Qual-Shon. He was hung for the murder of Indian Agent Bolon.

The following letter was received by the local committee on Wednesday from Mrs. M. A. Phelps, former State Regent of the D. A. R. and chairman of the Steptoe Committee:

I have only a few minutes in which to write, but I cannot let the day pass without telling you and your good friends and neighbors in Rosalia, how absolutely delightful all their arrangements were and how loud in their praise everyone was.

One of our Esther Reed women called me up this morning and said: "I tell you Mrs. Phelps, that was one of the most glorious days our Chapter will ever experience and I shall never hear the word Rosalia, without feeling a warm glow at my heart."

That is the way we all feel.

And the soldiers were so happy—one of them said: "We have never before been treated so well as we were at Rosalia, and if you've any more monuments to dedicate, just call on us."

Will you express to all your townspeople the sincere and hearty thanks of the women of Esther Reed Chapter of the D. A. R?

Most cordially and sincerely yours,

NETTA W. PHELPS.

—The Rosalia Citizen.

Rosalia, Washington,
19 June, 1908.

DOCUMENTS.

[The editor would be pleased to receive manuscript documents bearing on the history of the Pacific Northwest for publication in this department of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

Beginning of the San Juan Dispute.

Harry K. Struve, of Seattle, in an examination of the papers left by his distinguished father, the late H. G. Struve, came upon the following important and interesting document and promptly presented it to the Washington University State Historical Society. The signature was submitted to the inspection of R. E. Gosnell, Provincial Archivist of British Columbia, who pronounced it genuine. Mr. Gosnell is the author of the volume on Sir James Douglas about to appear in the "Makers of Canada" series. He is therefore probably the best living authority on the writings and history of Douglas.

Victoria, Vancouver's Island
26th April 1855.

To His Excellency
Governor Stevens
&c. &c. &c.
Sir

I have received a communication from Mr. Charles Griffin a British Subject, residing on the Island of San Juan, giving information to the effect that an armed party of American citizens ostensibly acting under the direction of a person named Barnes, who styles himself Sheriff of Whatcomb County, landed on the Island of San Juan, and demanded from the said Charles Griffin certain monies in payment of Taxes, on behalf and in the name of the United States of America, a demand which as a British subject, acknowledging no authority except that emanating from his own Government, he refused to pay.

Mr. Barnes and his followers during Mr. Griffin's absence, and while his servants were with one or two exceptions, dispersed at their several occupations did abstract a number of valuable sheep, which they put into boats, and were about to depart with the same when Mr. Griffin returned and demanding restitution of his property was menaced with violence and put in danger of his life.

I have taken the liberty of calling your excellency's attention to that matter for the purpose of learning from you if the said Mr. Barnes' proceedings were in that instance authorized or sane-

tioned in any manner by the Executive Officers of Washington Territory. His own verbal statements induced Mr. Griffin to believe that he had authority from you to levy Taxes on British subjects residing on the Island of San Juan, but I am conscious that it would be doing you a great injustice to assume, without better evidence, the truth of such statements; and also prove an ungracious requital for the kindness with which you generously vindicated, at Washington, the cause of truth and justice when a groundless charge was brought against the character of this Government.

Should Mr. Barnes have acted under the orders of the Executive Officers of Washington Territory, it is the intention of the persons, who have been plundered of their property to bring forward a claim for damages, as against the United States, but on the contrary if acting in a lawless manner, without due authority they will proceed by criminal action against the parties as for a felonious carrying away of the property of British subjects on the Territory of Great Britain.

I trust your Excellency will take measures to prevent the repetition of such acts of violence on the part of American citizens, which must ultimately lead to dissension and bloodshed, an event which all would have cause to deplore.

The Island of San Juan has been in the possession of British Subjects, for many years, and it is with the other Islands of the Archipelago de Arro declared to be within the Jurisdiction, of this Colony, and under the protection of British Laws. I have also the orders of Her Majesty's Ministers to treat those Islands as part of the British Dominions.

If our claims be unfounded, the fact must be proven by other means than by acts of violence, which from the nature of the question at issue, must be at once a fruitless and mischievous waste of energy, as they can neither add force to the claims of the United States, nor detract from those of Great Britain, founded on Treaty stipulations, by which the Governments of both nations have agreed to abide.

Wisdom and sound policy enjoin upon us the part of leaving the question to the decision of the Supreme Governments, and of abstaining from enforcing rights, which neither party is disposed to acknowledge.

Any other course must eventually lead to dissension and be productive of the most serious evils. Our united force when exerted in the common cause of humanity is hardly sufficient to restrain the wily savage from deeds of Blood, and that influence must, in a great measure, cease with our friendly relations, and both countries will suffer from the absence of that wholesome controul, which now holds the native Indian Tribes in check.

I trust your Excellency continues to entertain the sentiments in respect to this question, which you expressed at our last interview and that every exertion will be made on your side, as well as on ours to prevent disorders, which will complicate, and render the question more difficult of settlement.

This Government will be responsible for the acts of British Subjects and punish all offences committed by such on the Arro Islands, and I trust your Excellency is disposed to exercise the same vigourous controul in that quarter over the conduct of citizens of the United States.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
most obedient
humble Servant
JAMES DOUGLAS
Governor
Vancouver's Island.

Reply From Governor Stevens.

That Governor Stevens knew the case was important is shown by two events. In the first place he had the letter from Governor Douglas transcribed into his official records where it may still be seen in the archives in the capitol at Olympia. In the next place he replied in a firm and dignified manner. His reply is copied in the same volume. These two copies were found by Ashmun N. Brown, former Secretary to Governor Mead, and were made by him the basis of a valuable and interesting article in which he took occasion to call attention to the fact that this diplomacy over the sheep should supplant or be added to the old familiar pig story as being the foundation of the San Juan dispute. From Mr. Brown's article in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer for January 7, 1906, the reply by Governor Stevens is taken as follows:

Olympia, Washington Territory,
May 12, 1855.

Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of April 26, in which you state that information has been received by you "to the effect that an armed party of American citizens ostensibly acting under the direction of a person named Barnes, who styles himself sheriff of Whatcom county, landed on the island of San Juan and demanded from Charles Griffin certain moneys in payment of taxes on behalf and in the name of the United States of America. A demand which as a British subject, acknowledging no authority except that emanating from his own government, he refused to pay;" that Mr. Barnes and his followers "abstracted a number of valuable sheep," and that upon Mr. Griffin's demanding restitution he was menaced with violence and put in danger of his life.

Of the matters detailed by you I have no official information save from your communication. It is known, however, that Mr. Barnes is the sheriff of Whatcom county. You further state that you have called my attention to the same for the purpose of ascertaining "if the said Mr. Barnes' proceedings were in that in-

stance authorized or sanctioned in any manner by the executive officers of Washington territory."

The sheriffs of the various counties come under the supervision of the executive in the exercise of the pardoning power, and in the case of a resistance of the laws they act under certain prescribed laws, and to these laws they are responsible for a proper discharge of their duties.

By the act of the legislative assembly of the territory of Oregon, previous to the separation therefrom of the territory of Washington, the boundary line as between the two governments was held to run through the Canal de Arro, and by the act of the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington, "to organize the county of Whatcom," the island of San Juan is included within the bounds of that county.

The sheriff in proceeding to collect taxes acts under a law directing him to do so. Should he be resisted in such an attempt, it would become the duty of the governor to sustain him to the full force of the authority vested in him.

You say, "The island of San Juan has been in the possession of British subjects for many years, and it is with the other islands in the Archipelago de Arro declared to be within the jurisdiction of this colony and under the protection of British laws. I have also the orders of her majesty's ministers to treat those islands as part of the British dominions."

The acts before referred to have declared these islands to be within the jurisdiction, formerly of the territory of Oregon, now of the territory of Washington, and the general laws of those territories, so far as they may be applicable have thereby extended over them.

The ownership remains now as it did at the execution of the treaty of June 15, 1846, and can in no wise be affected by the alleged "possession of British subjects."

The contemporaneous exposition of the treaty as evinced by the debates in the United States senate shows the Canal de Arro to be the boundary line as understood by the United States at that time, and the doubt of the British government as to any claim beyond that line is plainly manifested by the note of Mr. Crampton, the British minister, to Mr. Buchanan, secretary of state of the United States, dated January 13, 1848. Indeed in Arrowsmith's map of Vancouver island and the adjacent coast, published in London April 11, 1849, the boundary line is laid down as running through the Canal de Arro.

The map is compiled from the surveys of Vancouver, Killett, Simpson and others, and would seem to establish that even as late as some three years subsequent to the treaty, the great English navigators and hydrographers, as well as the American government, considered the Canal de Arro, as in the terms of the treaty, the channel which separated the continent from Vancouver island.

I shall take the earliest opportunity to send a copy of your communication and of this reply to the secretary of state of the

United States, and in the meantime I have to reciprocate most earnestly your hope that nothing may occur to interrupt the harmony and good feeling which should characterize the relations of neighboring states.

I have the honor to be
Your obedient servant
ISAAC I. STEVENS
Governor of Washington Territory.

To His Excellency
James Douglas
Governor Vancouver Island.

Establishing the Navy Yard, Puget Sound.

The following letter from Lieutenant A. B. Wyckoff and the accompanying documents will be useful to the future historians The originals of the documents have been placed in the library of the University of Washington:

Branch Hydrographic Office.

Port Townsend, Wash.,
November 20th 1907.

Sir:—

I take pleasure in mailing you copies of orders and letters in relation to the starting of the Navy Yard, Puget Sound. The original name was "Puget Sound Naval Station," but some years since Congress changed the name to Navy Yard, Puget Sound, because of its increasing importance. "Bremerton Navy Yard" is a mis-nomer, without official sanction, and should never be used.

The first official act in connection with this navy yard was an Act of Congress in 1888 directing the appointment of a commission of three naval officers to examine the coast north of the 42nd parallel of north latitude in Oregon, Washington and Alaska for a suitable site for a navy yard and dry-docks.

Hon. W. C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, appointed Capt. A. T. Mahan, Commander C. M. Chester and Lieut.-Comd. C. H. Stockton and they recommended several sites on Puget Sound and Lake Washington. June 30th, 1890, Congress authorized a second commission to consist of two civilians, two naval officers and one army officer to select a site for a dry dock at some point on the shores of the Pacific ocean, or the waters connected therewith, north of the parallel of latitude marking the northern boundary of California, including the waters of Puget Sound, and also Lakes Washington and Union in the State of Washington. The commission appointed was Hon. Richard W. Thompson, ex-secretary of the navy, ex-senator T. C. Platt, Col. Geo. Mendell, U. S. A., Capt. T. O. Selfridge, U. S. N. and Lieutenant A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. N. The report was made Dec. 23rd, 1890, and favored a site on Port Orchard as first choice.

Senator John B. Allen secured an amendment to the naval appropriation bill authorizing the Sect. of the Navy to acquire for

the purposes of a dry dock a tract of land not exceeding 200 acres on Port Orchard, Puget Sound, appropriating $10,000 to pay for said land, and instructing the Sect. of the Navy to cause to be erected on said land, for naval and commercial purposes, a dry dock not less than 600 feet in length, not less than 70 feet wide at bottom of entrance and capable of admitting vessels drawing 30 feet of water, the cost of said dry dock not to exceed $700,000. This amendment finally passed Congress March 2nd, 1891.

I enclose a copy of my orders of March 17th 1891. After selecting and purchasing most of the lands I was ordered to assume command of "The Puget Sound Naval Station" and on September 16th 1891, in the presence of many of the inhabitants of Kitsap County, I read my orders and the flag was hoisted for the first time by my daughter Selah Wyckoff. I presume that this was the first birthday of the navy yard. After making many borings I selected the site of the present dry dock. The contract for the dry dock was let to Byron Barlow & Co. of Tacoma for $491,465, but owing to an increase in the length of the dock of fifty feet, and other changes, the final expense was $610,000. The beginning of work on the dry dock was Dec. 10, 1892, when my daughter Mary E. Wyckoff dug the first spade full of earth.

In May 1892 I was ordered to command the U. S. S. "Nipsic" in addition to my duties as Commandant. The first vessel to enter the dry dock was the U. S. Monitor "Monterey," April 22nd 1896. A number of battle ships and the S. S. "Dakota" have also been docked in it, and the most careful measurements have never shown any settlement.

The above I think covers everything in connection with the beginning of the navy Yard, Puget Sound.

A. B. WYCKOFF
Lieut. U. S. N. (Ret'd)

(Copy)

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, March 17th, 1891.

Sir:—

You are detached from duty in the Bureau of Yards and Docks, and assigned to special duty connected with that Bureau.

You will proceed to Seattle, Washington, and then to Port Orchard, in the County of Kitsap, on Puget Sound, where you will select a tract of land, not exceeding two hundred acres in extent, suitable for the purposes of a dry-dock. You will furnish the Department with a plan of the site you may select, and report the lowest price per acre for which it can be purchased.

In the prosecution of this duty, you will be allowed all expenses which may be incurred in the thorough examination of lands, preparation of papers, etc., including office rent, and you are authorized to make such journeys as may be necessary. You will keep a strict account of all expenses incurred and travel performed.

This employment on shore duty is required by the public interests, and such service will continue until September 15th, 1891, unless it is otherwise ordered.

Very respectfully,

B. F. TRACY.
Secretary of the Navy.

Lieutenant
A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. N.
Bureau of Yards and Docks,
Navy Department.

Puget Sound Naval Station.
Sidney, Wash., June 11, 1892.

Hon. B. F. Tracy.
Secretary of the Navy.
Sir:—

I have the honor to submit my final report, under the Department's order of March 17th, 1891, to select a body of land, not exceeding two hundred acres, suitable for the purposes of a dry-dock, on Port Orchard in the County of Kitsap, State of Washington. The lands selected embrace one hundred and ninety acres, according to the survey of Civil Engineer T. C. McCollom U. S. N., a copy of which is enclosed, and have a frontage on tide water of one and one-fourth miles. The site lies on the North side of Sinclair's Inlet and includes the only two basins of level land of any extent, with accessible water front, in Port Orchard. The center of the reservation rises in two ridges to elevations above one hundred feet, furnishing excellent and healthful locations for residences, marine barracks and hospital grounds. The tide lands, donated by the State of Washington, embrace about thirty-five acres, a portion of which can readily be filled in from the adjacent bluffs. Sinclair's Inlet can furnish secure anchorage, with excellent holding ground in from six to eight fathoms, to at least fifty men-of-war, and the tidal current along the North side is scarcely perceptible. One hundred and fourty-five and one fourth acres were purchased in September 1891; and five acres in March 1892. A suit was begun in September 1891, in the U. S. District Court, for the condemnation of forty acres of land lying near the center of the reservation, to which a clear title could not otherwise be obtained. Owing to various delays in the legal procedure, the final payments were not made until May 1892.

The one hundred and ninety and one fourth acres were purchased for $9,512.50; and the cost of abstracts, recording deeds etc. was $374.75, making a total of $9,587.25.

Very respectfully,

A. B. WYCKOFF,
Lieut. U. S. N.
Commandant.

No/ 1912.

(Copy)

Bureau of Yards and Docks.
Navy Department,
Washington, D. C., June 22, 1892.

Sir:

The Bureau begs to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 11, 1892, forwarding your final report of the selection of lands for the site of a dry-dock on Puget Sound, Kitsap Co., Washington, together with Copy of the Survey made by Civil Engineer T. C. McCollom, U. S. N.

The Report of Survey has been forwarded to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy.

The Bureau, on its part, desires to thank and congratulate you upon the successful manner in which you have accomplished the work assigned you by the Department.

Please forward your account current for month of June as soon as practicable.

Very respectfully.

N. H. FARQUHAR,
Chief of Bureau.

To
Lieut. A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. N.
Commandant,
Naval Station,
Puget Sound, Wash.,

(Copy)

New York, July 15th, 1893.

Hon. H. A. Herbert.
Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

Understanding that Lieutenant A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. Navy, is shortly to be ordered up for examination, and that no paper is on file in the Navy Department touching his services in connection with the establishment of the Puget Sound Naval Station, I desire to state that the work of the establishment of this station, requiring great judgment and energy on the part of Lieutenant Wyckoff, was performed by him to my entire satisfaction, and it gives me pleasure to express to you this opinion of the value of his services in order that it may be spread upon the records of the Department.

Very respectfully,

B. F. TRACY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions: America Edited by J. David Thompson. Carnegie Institution of Washington, No. 39. (Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution, June, 1908. 592 pp.)

One of the first projects approved by the trustees of the Carnegie Institution was the publication of a handbook of learned societies, this being regarded as a necessary preparation to almost any kind of careful research. Beginning in 1902, grants of money were made for the purpose, the supervision and expenditure being entrusted to the Librarian of Congress. Material has now been collected upon all publishing societies of the world, the present volume being limited to North and South America and adjacent islands. Exception has been made of a few classes of societies which are mentioned in the introduction to the Handbook with reasons for their omission.

As is well known, there is a great wealth of material in the publications of societies which have been formed for the promotion of study in special fields of knowledge. For the student along special lines of work, there is almost no source of information so fruitful as the literature of these publishing societies. The completion of an accurate and up-to-date check-list of the learned societies of the Western Hemisphere is a significant event in the history of scientific progress.

Within the field covered, it is now possible to obtain reliable information upon all publishing societies, together with colleges, universities, museums and laboratories which issue contributions to knowledge. Full information is given including name of society, permanent address, history, object, time and place of meetings, membership, regular and special publications, research funds and prizes. Facts are also given in regard to distribution of publications,—conditions under which exchanged, price and place of sale. While the exact titles of the various serial publications are given, it should be noted that the volumes are not analysed for contents. That would of course be out of the question in a one volume work covering so broad a field.

The arrangement is primarily by countries. Under countries, there is a list of national societies alphabetted by official name,

followed by a mixed alphabet of local societies arranged under city and state. This arrangement seems likely to prove confusing. Fortunately, there is an excellent index where names of societies and institutions, serial publications, cities, counties and states, are arranged together in a single alphabet.

—CHARLES W. SMITH.

Bibliography of American Historical Societies. By A. P. C. Griffin. Edition 2, revised and enlarged. Annual report of the American Historical Society for the year 1905, volume 2. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, 1374 pp., $1.)

This revised edition of Griffin's Bibliography of American Historical Societies has seemed long in coming. It was announced for the second volume of the Report of the American Historical Association for 1905 and as such it now makes its appearance in the year 1908, although bearing the imprint date of 1907.

It is a large volume, well printed and well indexed, and is in itself an ample justification for any delays in its preparation. It covers the publications of all publishing historical societies of the United States and Canada, bringing the record down in most cases to the close of the year 1905. The arrangement is geographical and chronological with a full author and subject index to which is added also a biographical index and an index of societies. These indexes add immensely to the working value of the book.

The work as now issued is easily the most important one volume bibliography in the field of American history. Like many another work of its kind, it has gradually developed from smaller beginnings.

In the Report of the American Historical Association for 1890, pp. 161-267, appeared the first installment of Mr. Griffin's Bibliography of American Historical Societies. A second and final installment came out in the Report of the American Historical Association for 1892, pp. 305-619. The completed bibliography listed the publications of 282 societies and covered 418 pages. It was not indexed except as the items were brought out by the indexes to the volumes in which it was contained. It proved very helpful even in this form but was not convenient to use.

In the Report of the American Historical Association for 1895, pp. 675-1236, there was published an enlarged and consolidated bibliography covering the same field and by the same author

as the preceding one. This listed the publications of 313 societies, covered 561 pages and contained a 77-page index. This was a distinct step in advance but the index was far from complete.

In the present edition, occupying a whole volume, the publications of some 500 historical societies are listed, covering 1,374 pages and containing 341 pages of index. The main index is by author and subject, followed by a biographical index and an index of societies. Each item as listed is given a serial number and the index refers to this number—a very satisfactory time-saving device from the standpiont of the user.

A key to the contents of all publications of the historical societies of North America is a reference work of unusual value. Too high praise cannot be given to the patience and persistence which were employed toward making this bibliography complete. Although covering so broad a field, it should prove of great value to students of the Pacific Northwest. A glance at the index reveals twelve items under the State and Territory of "Washington" and fifty-four items under the word "Oregon." As an illustration of the way in which an exhaustive bibliography of this kind brings up out-of-the-way information ,the following may be of interest. In the index of this bibliography under "Seattle" and under "Yesler," reference is made to an article upon Henry L. Yesler, the founder of Seattle. Reference from the index to the article in question shows it to be a "Denkschrift uber Henry L. Yesler, Grunder d. Stadt Seattle," by A. E. Schade, published in the seventh annual report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Baltimore, 1893. Even the most careful student of Seattle local history would be likely to miss an item of this kind, but for some such general bibliography.

—CHARLES W. SMITH.

Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606-1646. Edited by William T. Davis. [Original Narratives of Early American History, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, Vol. VI.] New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. VII, 419.)

Bradford's History is the latest volume in the series of Original Narratives which are being reproduced under the auspices of the American Historical Association, and like its predecessors is a reprint in convenient and well-edited form of a valuable historical narrative. This volume deals with the history of Plymouth Plantation down to 1646.

The Bradford manuscript has had a curious history. Bradford left it to his son and for some years it continued in the possession of the Bradford descendants, but after having been used by three or four early historical writers it disappeared. In 1855 it was discovered in the library of the Bishop of London, probably having been carried to England by Governor Hutchinson, who was using it in the preparation of his history of Massachusetts Bay.

A copy was made for the Massachusetts Historical Society and edited by Charles Deane, was printed in the collections of that society in 1856. In this form it has long been known to historical students having access to the larger libraries. The State of Massachusetts made several unsuccessful attempts to recover the manuscript, but was not finally successful until 1897, and in the following year the manuscript and an account of the proceedings incident to its delivery were published by the State.

The present volume is based on the Massachusetts reprint and has the advantage of Mr. Davis' careful editing and an interesting introductory chapter. It is hardly necessary to comment on the importance of Governor Bradford's history for "without it the history of the Plymouth Colony, now so complete, would have been, so far as its early years are concerned, involved in mystery." The story is interestingly and quaintly told by Bradford, and we are fortunate in having it now in usable and convenient form and at a price within the reach of all.

—EDWARD McMAHON.

Alexander H. Stephens. By Louis Pendleton. [The American Crisis Biographies, edited by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1908, pp. 406.)

One who expects to find in this volume a new life of Alex. H. Stephens is destined to disappointment. The volume is a scissors-and-pastepot condensation of two earlier biographies of Stephens, together with a few selections or condensations from Stephens' "War Between the States." Practically the only parts contributed by the author are three chapters in which, as "a fellow Georgian," he tells the reader some things he thinks the reader ought to know, not that they have any direct bearing on Stephens' character or actions, but apparently on the theory that they should be known.

The first biography of Stephens came from the pen of Henry Cleveland in 1866, and is a meagre account, chiefly valuable for

the letters and speeches it contains. This was followed by a better and longer sketch, written by Stephens' two friends Johnson and Browne, and like the earlier volume, was written while Stephens was living. In fact, the first edition of Johnson and Browne was read in manuscript by Stephens. A later edition (1878), after his death, is substantially the same work with supplementary chapters dealing with his last years, his death, and the eulogies delivered in that connection. Manifestly these volumes have little value in giving a perspective estimate of the man, and are more eulogistic than discriminating.

In a work appearing a generation after Stephens' death we have a right to expect that these faults be eliminated, but this volume in no sense meets the expectation. It is almost within the bounds of truth to say that this work is simply a brief rehash of Johnson and Browne's volume. The author seems utterly ignorant of the fact that the Missouri Compromise had no bearing on territory acquired after the compromise was made, for in his view the Wilmot proviso "openly violated the covenant of the Missouri Compromise" (92). In answer to the complaints made at the time that the Kansas-Nebraska bill "abrogated the Missouri Compromise" we are informed that that compromise "was abrogated, though the fact was not officially stated, when the compromise measures of 1850 were adopted through the influence of Clay and Webster" (132).

To judge by this book alone Mr. Pendleton has no conception of the canons of historical writing. Time after time letters of Stephens' are summarized, no reference is given, and the reader is left to conclude that the letters themselves have been consulted. One has only to turn to the older works on Stephens to find the same letters summarized in almost exactly the same words. A letter quoted (99) from Waddell's Life of Linton Stephens is given in Johnson and Browne (251) in a distinctly different form and one is tempted to believe that Mr. Pendleton did not see any of Stephens' letters, but has copied them bodily from other sources in many cases without due credit. In this connection it is worth noting that not a single reference is made to the Congressional Globe for Stephens' speeches, all of them being cited from the older biographies which are out of print.

The three chapters not compiled from the older biographies of Stephens are chapters VII, XI and most of XII. The seventh deals with "nullification at the North," in which the author sets forth at length the practical nullification of the Fugitive Slave Act by the various Northern States, and shows that the radical

abolitionists were opposed to the constitution and the Union. Chapter XI, entitled "Seventy Years of Dis-union," is a defense of secession, in which the author, beginning with the colonial period, traces the growth of centralization and cites abundant evidence to show that the fathers held the view that the Union was composed of sovereign States and that the constitution was a compact under which each State reserved its sovereign rights. The Virginia and the Kentucky resolutions, the New England conspiracy of 1803-4, Burr's conspiracy, the Hartford convention, Georgia's defiance of the Federal government, and other less important instances of like character are discussed to prove that secession and nullification were contemplated by many persons and sections before the Southerners made the final attempt following Lincoln's election. The thirteenth chapter deals with the "South's handicaps in the war" and shows that one of these was Stephens himself. His opposition to Davis' policies grew as the war went on and was the outgrowth of his constitutional opposition to the centralization of power in Davis' hands, and to what Stephens believed to be unwise and illegal action of the government in carrying out its war policy. Mr. Pendleton has made an endeavor to throw new light on Stephens' character by a search in the contemporary newspapers of Georgia, but no important information has been discovered.

On the whole the publishers have a certain justification in reprinting the most important parts of the earlier lives of Stephens which are now out of print, but it would have been better to have called this volume a reprint or condensation with notes by Mr. Pendleton. In any other guise the book is sailing under false colors. The bibliography appended is worthless.

—EDWARD McMAHON.

Stephen A. Douglas: A Study in American Politics. By Allen Johnson. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. 503.)

When Stephen A. Douglas died in Chicago forty-seven years ago the Chicago Tribue said editorially, "That the place which the departed statesman occupied in the National Councils can not, in any true sense, be filled, all will agree." Four days later in an estimate of him the same paper said, "No man has died in many a decade whose death will be so widely felt as that of him whose body was yesterday borne through our streets. * * * He was the Democratic party of the North. * * * His under-

takers should have buried his mantle with him—there is no one to wear it." This is certainly a remarkable tribute when one remembers that it came from the pen of Douglas' ablest editorial opponent.

Yet, in spite of the high regard in which Douglas was held by the friends and foes of his day, it has required nearly a half century to raise up a competent historical scholar to do justice to his memory. His great opponent, Lincoln, the only man who ever overcame Douglas in debate or politics, has so completely overshadowed him that we are tempted to forget there ever was such a man as Douglas much less remember that it required the best efforts of the greatest man America has produced to vanquish him.

But, there is abundant compensation in waiting for Prof. Johnson's book for he has done an admirable piece of work. An equally competent scholar could have done it years ago, however, for Prof. Johnson has unearthed no material of importance that has not long been known. Douglas left practically nothing of value in the form of manuscripts except an autobiographical sketch of his early years, and a collection of letters to his friends and political lieutenant, Chas. H. Lanphier, editor of the Illinois State Register. The great bulk of the material concerning him is, so far as discovered, in the well known printed sources.

Prof. Johnson has made excellent use of this material, and is peculiarly fitted to interpret Douglas' career. Like Douglas he was born in New England and later came in touch with the virgin democracy of the Middle West which has enabled him admirably "to interpret the spirit of that region which gave both Douglas and Lincoln to the nation." Interpretation is the strongest feature of the book. No new facts of importance are revealed but the known facts are handled so well that we are no longer at a loss for a just and adequate understanding of the aims and ambitions of the great Northern Democrat "whose life spans the controversial period before the Civil War."

The volume is divided into three parts. The first, entitled "The Call of the West," carries the narrative through 142 pages to the acquisition of the Mexican Cession. The second part of 164 pages deals with the measures of adjustment growing out of the Mexican Cession, and the introduction and passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and closes with the testing of popular sovereignty in Kansas. The last part continues the narrative from the revolt of Douglas, through the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the

campaign of 1860, and the beginning of Civil War, to the death of Douglas on June 3, 1861.

No detailed examination of Prof. Johnson's pages can be presented here. It is sufficient to say that he has avoided all attempts at vindication of Douglas' views or policies. He holds a brief for no man or party but has conscientiously aimed to present the situation as it appeared to Douglas and his contemporaries. The book is abundantly supplied with foot-notes, is well printed, neatly bound and adequately indexed. It will take front rank with the best products of modern historical scholarship.

—EDWARD McMAHON.

NEWS DEPARTMENT.

The Maitland Memorial.

Notice has been received in this state of a movement to establish a memorial to the late Professor Frederic William Maitland of Cambridge University, England. The committee appointed to raise funds for this purpose includes the Lord Chief Justice of England and many of the most noted lawyers, historians and economists of Great Britain, as well as a number of distinguished professors and publicists in France, Germany and the United States. Among the Americans appointed are Joseph H. Choate, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Professor Nathan Abbott of Columbia (formerly of Stanford) and Dean Ames and Professor Gross of Harvard. More than two thousand pounds has already been promised. A small part of this amount will go to defray the expense of a bust of professor Maitland and the remainder will constitute a memorial fund for the promotion of research and construction in legal history at Cambridge.

The success which is attending the movement serves as an index to the respect with which the name and labors of the deceased professor are regarded on both sides of the Atlantic. He is remembered by Cambridge men for his remarkable ability to inspire students with a love for the study of early English law. Those who met him when he visited the United States recall his kindness and genial nature. But it was the genius for investigation shown in his works on the medieval English law and constitution which gained for him his international reputation. From 1884, when, after several years' practice as a barrister, he became an instructor in his alma mater, until his death in 1906, he was a prolific author and editor. His editions of English plea rolls have made possible to the ordinary student an intimate acquaintance with procedure in English courts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His volume entitled "Domesday Book and Beyond" did more to explain English institutions in the Anglo-Saxon period than any other work for nearly seventy-five years, and his "History of the English Law," written in co-operation with Sir Frederick Pollock, stands beside the work of Bishop Stubbs as an indispensable guide. Since much of the interest and research in early English constitutional history at the present time springs from the impulse given by Frederic William Maitland, his memorial will interest students of Anglo-Saxon legal institutions in all lands.

The Fraser River Centenary.

The newspapers of the civilized world have been recording in generous space the great pageant in Quebec where the tercentennial of the founding of Canada has been celebrated. With similar enthusiasm our neighbors in British Columbia are preparing to celebrate the centennial of the discovery of Fraser River. The following is taken from the Daily Times, of Victoria, British Columbia, of June 6, 1908:

A hundred years ago last month, Simon Fraser, the intrepid fur-trader and traveler, began his voyage of exploration down the Fraser River from Fort George, a tiny fur-trading post hidden in the heart of the wild region of the Cariboo range of mountains. Fraser, it is curious to note, began his journey under a misapprehension as to the identity of the river he was about to explore. It had been known for some time that a great river emptied itself into the Pacific about the latitude of the Columbia, the mouth of which river was finally discovered by Bruno Heceta in 1775. The estuary of the Fraser was not discovered by Galiano until some seventeen years later. In 1793 Alexander Mackenzie discovered and traversed the upper waters of the Fraser, which he mistook for and reported as the river that poured its waters into the Pacific at the point discovered by Bruno Heceta. It then came about that Fraser, following partly in Mackenzie's footsteps, arrived, via the Peace River country, in the neighbourhood of the upper waters of the Tacouche Tesse, as the Fraser was originally called, in 1805. He explored the district and entered into trade with the local Indians, building several forts, some of which are still used by the fur-traders. Three years later he received orders from the North-West Company, his employers, to explore the Tacouche Tesse to its mouth in the hope of its being navigable, and so saving the expense of overland transport to the western fur country.

The Fraser ranks next in importance to the Columbia among the rivers of the Western coast. It rises near Mount Seikie, in the Rockies, and in its course of 695 miles receives a number of tributaries, of which the Thompson, with its two branches, is the largest. In common with the other British Columbia rivers, the Fraser bends upon itself, flowing northwest from its source and then turning suddenly southward. This is due to the peculiar formation of the Pacific Slope, which consists of gigantic ridges of mountains running approximately north and south. Between the peaks lie long, narrow valleys, through which the great rivers wind until they break away to the sea.

Fraser began his voyage of discovery on May 28, 1808, from Fort George, with nineteen voyageurs, two Indian guides, and Stuart and Quesnel as lieutenants. Some fifteen miles below Fort George they encountered the first of the many awe-inspiring canons through which the river passes. Here one of the canoes was nearly wrecked against the rocky banks. On the following day, the canoes having been lightened, the Cottonwood canon was passed safely, and the party camped at the junction of the Quesnel

with the Fraser, at the spot where the town of Quesnel now stands. During the course of the next day or so Fraser encountered some Indian tribes, who informed him that "the river below was but a succession of falls and cascades, which we would find impossible to pass, not only on account of the difficulties of the channel, but from the extreme ruggedness and the mountainous character of the surrounding country."

By no means disheartened, the explorer procured a guide and pursued his course down stream. He soon found that the Indians had by no means exaggerated the difficulties which the voyage presented; canons, cascades and rapids followed one another in rapid succession, and a score of times a day Fraser and his devoted followers risked their lives in the whirling, rushing waters. Some of the Indians advised Fraser that by making a journey to the eastward beyond the mountains that lined the gorge through which the river flowed he could obtain pleasant traveling to the sea; but he was determined to carry out his mission, and his answer was, as he himself records it, that "Going to the sea by a direct way was not the object of the undertaking; I therefore would not deviate, and continued our route according to my original intention."

Fraser's own description of a canon passed by the expedition near what is now known as Kelly Creek gives a vivid description of the dangers braved and hardships endured: "Here the channel," he says, "contracts to about forty yards, and is enclosed by two precipices of immense height, which, bending toward each other, make it narrower above than below. The water which rolls down this extraordinary passage in tumultous waves and great velocity has a frightful appearance. However, it being absolutely impossible to carry the canoes by land, all hands without hesitation embarked as it were a corps perdu upon the mercy of this awful tide. Once engaged, the die was cast; our great difficulty consisted in keeping the canoes within the medium, or fil d'eau—that is, clear of the precipice on one side and from the gulfs formed by the waves on the other. Thus skimming along as fast as lightning, the crews, cool and determined, followed each other in awful silence, and when we arrived at the end, we stood gazing at each other in silent congratulation at our narrow escape from total destruction. This afternoon the rapids were very bad; two in particular were worse, if possible, than any we had hitherto met with, being a continual series of cascades intercepted with rocks and bounded by precipices and mountains that seemed at times to have no end. I scarcely ever saw anything so dreary and dangerous in any country, and at present, while writing this, whatever way I turn my eyes, mountains upon mountains whose summits are crowned with eternal snow close the gloomy scene."

Shortly after this the exploring party were obliged to continue their journey by land in many cases, but they always hugged the course of the river, and so the indomitable Scotsman was able to carry out the spirit, if not the letter of his instructions. He at length reached Hell Gate, a point in the Big or Black Canon of the Fraser, some twenty miles above Yale, at which an enormous

rock had fallen from the cliffs and all but blocked the path of the waters. Stuart "reported that the navigation was absolutely impracticable," and no way of advance remained but by land. Writing of the difficulties of this portion of the expedition, Fraser says: "We could scarcely make our way even with only our guns. I have been for a long period among the Rocky Mountains, but have never seen anything like this country. It is so wild that I cannot find words to describe our situation at times. We had to pass where no human being should venture; yet in these places there is a regular footpath impressed, or rather indented, upon the very rocks by frequent traveling. Besides this, steps which are formed like a ladder or the shrouds of a ship, by poles hanging to one another and crossed at certain distances with twigs, the whole suspended from the top to the foot of immense precipices and fastened at both extremities to stones and trees, furnish a safe and convenient passage to the natives; but we, who had not had the advantage of their education and experience, were often in imminent danger when obliged to follow their example." By July 1st he had reached tidal water, and found that the tide rose two and one-half feet. At a spot "where the river divides into several channels," which would be a short distance above the City of New Westminster, Fraser began to be much annoyed by Indian tribes, who became very pugnacious. He pushed on, however, until he came in sight of a gulf or bay of the sea called by the Indians "Pas-hil-roe," and landed at a place called "Misquiname," which is now identified as the Musqueam Indian reserve on the north arm of the Fraser. Here, owing to the shortness of his provisions and the hostile attitude of the natives, he was compelled to abandon his purpose of reaching the open sea. It was not until this time that, on making an observation, it dawned upon Fraser that the river he had explored was not the Columbia. Upon this matter his journal says: "The latitude is 49 deg., nearly, while that of the entrance of the Columbia is 46 deg. 20 minutes. The river is therefore not the Columbia; if I had been convinced of this when I left my canoes I would certainly have returned."

Fort George was reached on the return journey on August 6th, so that the descent of the river occupied thirty-five days and the ascent thirty-four days.

Simon Fraser was in his thirty-second year when he led the memorable expedition through all the dangers of this exacting voyage without losing a man. He was born at Bennington, Vermont, but on the outbreak of the Revolution his father joined the Royal standard and served as a captain in Burgoyne's army. The elder Fraser was captured and confined in Albany jail, where he died from the rigorous treatment of his captors. His family then settled in Canada, and Simon, who was the youngest, was sent to Montreal to school. At the age of sixteen he became an articled clerk of the Northwest Fur Trading Company, and at the time of his exploration in the West had been promoted to the position of a bourgeois, or partner.

The British Columbia government are this year making arrangements to perpetuate his memory by an exhibition of some personal relics of the great explorer.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

[Continued From Last Quarterly.]

PART II.

TRAVELS ACROSS THE GREAT WESTERN PRAIRIES AND THROUGH OREGON.

With a description of the line of route, and the distances between the intermediate points from Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. Also, a full description of the characteristics, capabilities and present condition of the North Western Territory, prepared from the Journal of a member of the recently organized

OREGON LEGISLATURE.

CHAPTER I.

The Start—Arrival at the Rendezvous—The Features of the Gathering—The Rival Fat Gentlemen—The Humors of an Evening in the Camp.

It is not necessary to the object in view, that the writer of this journal should furnish the reason which induced him to turn his face towards the wilderness. Let it suffice that on the morning of the 17th of May, 1843, I (to drop the third person) mounted my horse in Independence, Missouri, and set out for the general rendezvous. This was situated in a small spot about twenty miles distant, in a southeast direction. I did not start alone. A family of the name of Robbins, from the northern part of Pennsylvania, were my companions. This party consisted of a husband and wife, two chubby boys, one six and the other eight years of age, and a bouncing baby of eighteen months, or thereabouts.

After having examined for the twentieth time if all the necessaries required for the journey were properly stowed in the wagon, and after having, for the last time, jerked at a trace, settled this and that portion of the harness, looked under the horses, passed his hand over the near one's flank, and walked completely around the whole concern, John Robbins mounted his seat, gave a sonorous ahem! in evidence of his complete satisfaction, and describing a preparatory circle with his lash, was about bringing it down on the backs of his team, when a little circumstance in the body of the wagon interrupted his purpose, and softened the threatening sweep of the gad into an oblique flourish, that spent its elegance in a faint snap near the ground.

He had turned his head for the twenty-first time to see that all was right in the canvas domicile behind, when he discerned that Mrs. Robbins was yielding to the weakness of her bosom

at the separation of the last link that bound her to the associations of early youth, and to the ties of friends and home. The husband kissed away the tears that were tumbling over her full and rosy cheek, spoke a word of encouragement in her ear, and then, with a moistened eye himself, turned hastily to his place, brought the whip sharply down, set his features as rigid as a decemvir's, and rattled off at a pace that soon jolted off every vestige of sadness or depression, amid the cheers of a large circle of friends and well-wishers, who had gathered to see us off, and whose benizons floated after us upon the air, as if they were unwilling to resign this living evidence of their continual guardianship.

The morning was magnificent. The soft, fresh breeze was both bracing and bland, and the sun poured down his brightness with such superior glory that his rays seemed to stream through our very hearts, and to change every doubt and dark foreboding into cheerful hope. As I gazed out upon that lovely landscape and saw every blade and leaf quivering in gold, I ceased to wonder that the savage turned his face above to look for God.

Our course, as I remarked before, lay southwest, along the Santa Fe trail. After we had proceeded on our way for about three hours, the fresh morning air served its challenge on our appetites, and we made a halt in answer to its summons. In compliment to the smooth green sward, the Robbins family tumbled out of the wagon and spread their cloth upon it. Then followed the tin cups and tin plates, and then the edibles. Of the last, we made most speedy disposal. Mrs. Robbins had recovered from her momentary depression, and was now chatting away in high glee, only pausing occasionally to tickle the baby in the neck, to knead its stomach with her fists, or to roll it over and over on the grass. The two boys had left the meal with their cheeks yet full, and were now scampering away after each other in a race over the fields, while one other member of the party, whom I must apologize for having overlooked, sat beside the hearty John Robbins, looking like the impersonation of Gravity itself. This was a large white dog, named Jack, who I understood had long been a member of the family. He appeared to perfectly understand his social position, for though there was no evidence of improper levity in his character, or any indication of intemperate importunity in his manner, one might see by the decided cock of his head, and the equally decided interest he bestowed upon every movement of John Robbins' knife and fork, that he knew his rights to a hair. His calculations were not disappointed, and his lunch finishing the meal, I mounted my horse, the Robbins stowed themselves away under the canvas canopy, and off we jogged once more, to the great delight of Jack, who went gamboling away before us.

We had not proceeded far before we were met by a wagon returning from the rendezvous to Independence.

[To be continued.]

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